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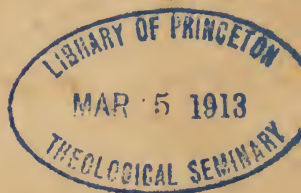
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Paine's Rights of Man

RIGHTS OF MAN:

BEING AN



ANSWER TO MR. BURKE'S ATTACK

ON THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION.

BY

✓
THOMAS PAINE,

SECRETARY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO CONGRESS IN THE AMERICAN WAR,

AND

AUTHOR OF THE WORK INTITLED *COMMON SENSE*.

Second Edition.

PHILADELPHIA:

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M.DCC.XCI.

TO

GEORGE WASHINGTON,

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

S I R,

I PRESENT you a small Treatise in defence of those Principles of Freedom which your exemplary Virtue hath so eminently contributed to establish. That the Rights of Man may become as universal as your Benevolence can wish, and that you may enjoy the Happiness of seeing the New World regenerate the old, is the Prayer of

S I R,

Your much obliged, and

Obedient humble Servant,

THOMAS PAINE.

THE following Extract from a note accompanying a copy of this Pamphlet for republication, is so respectable a testimony of its value, that the Printer hopes the distinguished writer will excuse its present appearance. It proceeds from a character, equally eminent in the councils of America, and conversant in the affairs of France, from a long and recent residence at the Court of Versailles in the Diplomatic department; and, at the same time that it does justice to the writings of Mr. Paine, it reflects honor on the source from which it flows, by directing the mind to a contemplation of that Republican firmness and Democratic simplicity which endear their possessor to every friend of the "RIGHTS OF MAN."

After some prefatory remarks, the Secretary of State observes:

"I am extremely pleased to find it will be re-printed here, and that something is at length to be publicly said against the political heresies which have sprung up among us.

"I have no doubt our citizens will rally a second time round the *standard* of COMMON SENSE."

RIGHTS OF MAN, &c.

AMONG the incivilities by which nations or individuals provoke and irritate each other, Mr. Burke's pamphlet on the French Revolution is an extraordinary instance. Neither the people of France, nor the National Assembly, were troubling themselves about the affairs of England, or the English Parliament; and why Mr. Burke should commence an unprovoked attack upon them, both in parliament and in public, is a conduct that cannot be pardoned on the score of manners, nor justified on that of policy.

There is scarcely an epithet of abuse to be found in the English language, with which Mr. Burke has not loaded the French nation and the National Assembly. Every thing which rancour, prejudice, ignorance or knowledge could suggest, are poured forth in the copious fury of near four hundred pages. In the strain and on the plan Mr. Burke was writing, he might have wrote on to as many thousands. When the tongue or the pen is let loose in a phrenzy of passion, it is the man, and not the subject, that becomes exhausted.

Hitherto Mr. Burke has been mistaken and disappointed in the opinions he had formed of the affairs of France; but such is the ingenuity of his hope, or the malignancy of his despair, that it furnishes him with new pretences to go on. There was a time when it was impossible to make Mr. Burke believe there would be any revolution in France. His opinion then was, that the French had neither spirit to undertake it, nor fortitude to support it; and now that there is one, he seeks an escape by condemning it.

Not sufficiently content with abusing the National Assembly, a great part of his work is taken up with abusing Dr. Price (one of the best-hearted men that lives,) and the two societies in England known by the name of the Revolution and the Constitutional Societies.

Dr. Price had preached a sermon on the 4th of November, 1789, being the anniversary of what is called in England the Revolution which took place 1688. Mr. Burke, speaking of this sermon, says, 'The political Divine proceeds dogmatically to assert, that, by the principles of the Revolution, the people of England have acquired three fundamental rights :

- ' 1. To chuse our own governors.
- ' 2. To chastise them for misconduct.
- ' 3. To frame a government for ourselves.'

Dr. Price does not say that the right to do these things exists in this or in that person, or in this or in that description of persons, but that it exists in the *whole*; that it is a right resident in the nation --- Mr. Burke, on the contrary, denies that such a right exists in the nation, either in whole or in part, or that it exists any where; and what is still more strange and marvellous, he says, 'that the people of England utterly disclaim such a right, and that they will resist the practical assertion of it with their lives and fortunes.' That men should take up arms, and spend their lives and fortunes, *not* to maintain their rights, but to maintain they have *not* rights, is an entire new species of discovery, and suited to the paradoxical genius of Mr. Burke.

'The method which Mr. Burke takes to prove that the people of England have no such rights, and that such rights do not now exist in the nation, either in whole or in part, or any where at all, is of the same marvellous and monstrous kind with what he has already said; for his arguments are, that the persons, or the generation of persons, in whom they did exist, are dead, and with them the right is dead also. To prove this, he quotes a declaration made by parliament about a hundred years ago, to William and Mary, in these words: "The Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, do, in the name of the people aforesaid---(meaning the people of England then living)---most humbly and faithfully submit themselves, their *heirs* and *posterities*, for EVER." He also quotes a clause of another act of parliament made in the same reign, the terms of which, he says, "binds us---(meaning the people of that day)---our *heirs* and our *posterity*, to *them*, their *heirs* and *posterity*, to the end of time."

Mr. Burke conceives his point sufficiently established by producing those clauses, which he enforces by saying that they exclude

exclude the right of the nation for *ever*: and not yet content with making such declarations, repeated over and over again, he further says, ‘ that if the people of England possessed such a right before the Revolution, (which he acknowledges to have been the case, not only in England, but throughout Europe, at an early period) ‘ yet that the *English nation* did, at the time of the Revolution, most solemnly renounce and abdicate it, for themselves, and for *all their posterity for ever.*’

As Mr. Burke occasionally applies the poison drawn from his horrid principles (if it is not a prophanation to call them by the name of principles) not only to the English nation, but to the French Revolution and the National Assembly, and charges that august, illuminated and illuminating body of men with the epithet of *usurpers*, I shall, *sans ceremonie*, place another system of principles in opposition to his.

The English Parliament of 1688 did a certain thing, which for themselves and their constituents, they had a right to do, and which it appeared right should be done: but, in addition to this right, which they possessed by delegation, *they set up another right by assumption*, that of binding and controuling posterity to the end of time. The case, therefore, divides itself into two parts; the right which they possessed by delegation, and the right which they set up by assumption. The first is admitted; but, with respect to the second, I reply ---

There never did, there never will, and there never can exist a parliament, or any description of men, or any generation of men, in any country, possessed of the right or the power of binding and controuling posterity to the “*end of time*,” or of commanding for ever how the world shall be governed, or who shall govern it: And therefore all such clauses, acts or declarations, by which the makers of them attempt to do what they have neither the right nor the power to do, nor the power to execute, are in themselves null and void.---Every age and generation must be as free to act for itself, *in all cases*, as the ages and generations which preceded it. The vanity and presumption of governing beyond the grave, is the most ridiculous and insolent of all tyrannies. Man has no property in man; neither has any generation a property in the generations which are to follow. The parliament or the people of 1688, or of any other period, had no more right to dispose of the people of the present day, or to bind or to controul them *in any shape whatever*,

whatever, than the parliament or the people of the present day have to dispose of, bind or controul those who are to live a hundred or a thousand years hence. Every generation is and must be competent to all the purposes which its occasions require. It is the living, and not the dead, that are to be accommodated. When man ceases to be, his power and his wants cease with him ; and having no longer any participation in the concerns of this world, he has no longer any authority in directing who shall be its governors, or how its government shall be organized, or how administered.

I am not contending for, nor against, any form of government, nor for, nor against, any party here or elsewhere. That which a whole nation chooses to do, it has a right to do. Mr. Burke says, No. Where then *does* the right exist? I am contending for the right of the *living*, and against their being willed away, and controuled and contracted for, by the manuscript assumed authority of the dead ; and Mr. Burke is contending for the authority of the dead over the rights and freedom of the living. There was a time when kings disposed of their crowns by will upon their death-beds, and consigned the people like beasts of the field, to whatever successor they appointed. This is now so exploded as scarcely to be remembered, and so monstrous as hardly to be believed : But the parliamentary clauses upon which Mr. Burke builds his political church, are of the same nature.

The laws of every country must be analogous to some common principle. In England, no parent or master, nor all the authority of parliament, omnipotent as it has called itself, can bind or controul the personal freedom even of an individual beyond the age of twenty-one years : On what ground of right then could the parliament of 1688, or any other parliament bind all posterity for ever ?

Those who have quitted the world, and those who are not yet arrived at it, are as remote from each other as the utmost stretch of mortal imagination can conceive: What possible obligation then can exist between them, what rule or principle can be laid down, that two non-entities, the one out of existence, and the other not in, and who never can meet in this world, that the one should controul the other to the end of time ?

In England, it is said that money cannot be taken out of the pockets of the people without their consent: But who authorized, and who could authorize the parliament of 1688 to controul and take away the freedom of posterity, and limit and confine their rights of acting in certain cases for ever, who were not in existence to give or withhold their consent?

A greater absurdity cannot present itself to the understanding of man; than what Mr. Burke offers to his readers. He tells them, and he tells the world to come, that a certain body of men, who existed a hundred years ago, made a law, and that there does not now exist in the nation, nor ever will, nor ever can, a power to alter it. Under how many subtilities, or absurdities, has the divine right to govern been imposed on the credulity of mankind! Mr. Burke has discovered a new one, and he has shortened his journey to Rome, by appealing to the power of this infallible parliament of former days; and he produces what it has done, as of divine authority: for that power must certainly be more than human, which no human power to the end of time can alter.

But Mr. Burke has done some service, not to his cause, but to his country, by bringing those clauses into public view. They serve to demonstrate how necessary it is at all times to watch against the attempted encroachment of power, and to prevent its running to excess. It is somewhat extraordinary, that the offence for which James II. was expelled, that of setting up power by *assumption*, should be re-acted, under another shape and form, by the parliament that expelled him. It shews, that the rights of man were but imperfectly understood at the Revolution; for certain it is, that the right which that parliament set up by *assumption* (for by delegation it had it not, and could not have it, because none could give it) over the persons and freedom of posterity for ever, was of the same tyrannical unfounded kind which James attempted to set up over the parliament and the nation, and for which he was expelled. The only difference is, (for in principle they differ not) that the one was an usurper over the living, and the other over the unborn; and as the one has no better authority to stand upon than the other, both of them must be equally null and void, and of no effect.

From what, or from whence, does Mr. Burke prove the right of any human power to bind posterity for ever? He has produced

produced his clauses; but he must produce also his proofs, that such a right existed, and shew how it existed. If it ever existed, it must now exist; for whatever appertains to the nature of man, cannot be annihilated by man. It is the nature of man to die, and he will continue to die as long as he continues to be born. But Mr. Burke has set up a sort of political Adam, in whom all posterity are bound for ever; he must therefore prove that his Adam possessed such a power, or such a right.

The weaker any cord is, the less will it bear to be stretched, and the worse is the policy to stretch it, unless it is intended to break it. Had a person contemplated the overthrow of Mr. Burke's positions, he would have proceeded as Mr. Burke has done. He would have magnified the authorities, on purpose to have called the *right* of them into question; and the instant the question of right was started, the authorities must have been given up.

It requires but a very small glance of thought to perceive, that although laws made in one generation often continue in force through succeeding generations, yet that they continue to derive their force from the consent of the living. A law not repealed continues in force, not because it *cannot* be repealed, but because it *is not* repealed; and the non-repealing passes for consent.

But Mr. Burke's clauses have not even this qualification in their favour. They become null, by attempting to become immortal. The nature of them precludes consent. They destroy the right which they *might* have, by grounding it on a right which they *cannot* have. Immortal power is not a human right, and therefore cannot be a right of parliament. The parliament of 1688 might as well have passed an act to have authorised themselves to live for ever, as to make their authority live for ever. All therefore that can be said of them is, that they are a formality of words, of as much import, as if those who used them had addressed a congratulation to themselves, and, in the oriental style of antiquity, had said, O parliament, live for ever!

The circumstances of the world are continually changing, and the opinions of men change also; and as government is for the living, and not for the dead, it is the living only that has any right in it. That which may be thought right and
found

found convenient in one age, may be thought wrong and found inconvenient in another. In such cases, Who is to decide, the living, or the dead?

As almost one hundred pages of Mr. Burke's book are employed upon these clauses, it will consequently follow, that if the clauses themselves, so far as they set up an *assumed, usurped* dominion over posterity for ever, are unauthoritative, and in their nature null and void, that all his voluminous inferences and declamation drawn therefrom, or founded thereon, are null and void also: and on this ground I rest the matter.

We now come more particularly to the affairs of France. Mr. Burke's book has the appearance of being written as instruction to the French nation; but if I may permit myself the use of an extravagant metaphor, suited to the extravagance of the case, it is darkness attempting to illuminate light.

While I am writing this, there is accidentally before me some proposals for a declaration of rights by the Marquis de la Fayette (I ask his pardon for using his former address, and do it only for distinction's sake) to the National Assembly on the 11th of July 1789, three days before the taking of the Bastille; and I cannot but be struck how opposite the sources are from which that Gentleman and Mr. Burke draw their principles. Instead of referring to musty records and mouldy parchments to prove that the rights of the living are lost, "renounced and abdicated for ever," by those who are now no more, as Mr. Burke has done, M. de la Fayette applies to the living world, and emphatically says, "Call to mind the sentiments which Nature has engraved in the heart of every citizen, and which take a new force when they are solemnly recognized by all:---For a nation to love liberty, it is sufficient that she knows it; and to be free, it is sufficient that she wills it." How dry, barren, and obscure, is the source from which Mr. Burke labours; and how ineffectual, though gay with flowers, are all his declamation and his argument, compared with these clear, concise, and soul-animating sentiments! Few and short as they are, they lead on to a vast field of generous and manly thinking, and do not finish, like Mr. Burke's periods, with music in the ear, and nothing in the heart.

As I have introduced the mention of M. de la Fayette, I will take the liberty of adding an anecdote respecting his farewell

well address to the Congress of America in 1783, and which occurred fresh to my mind when I saw Mr. Burke's thundering attack on the French Revolution.---M. de la Fayette went to America at an early period of the war, and continued a volunteer in her service to the end. His conduct through the whole of that enterprise is one of the most extraordinary that is to be found in the history of a young man, scarcely then twenty years of age. Situated in a country that was like the lap of sensual pleasure, and with the means of enjoying it, how few are there to be found who would exchange such a scene for the woods and wilderness of America, and pass the flowery years of youth in unprofitable danger and hardship! But such is the fact. When the war ended, and he was on the point of taking his final departure, he presented himself to Congress, and contemplating, in his affectionate farewell, the revolution he had seen, expressed himself in these words: "*May this great monument, raised to Liberty, serve as a lesson to the oppressor, and an example to the oppressed!*" When this address came to the hands of Doctor Franklin, who was then in France, he applied to Count Vergennes to have it inserted in the French Gazette, but never could obtain his consent. The fact was, that Count Vergennes was an aristocratical despot at home, and dreaded the example of the American revolution in France, as certain other persons now dread the example of the French revolution in England; and Mr. Burke's tribute of fear (for in this light his book must be considered) runs parallel with Count Vergennes' refusal. But, to return more particularly to his work.---

"We have seen (says Mr. Burke) the French rebel against a mild and lawful Monarch, with more fury, outrage, and insult, than any people has been known to rise against the most illegal usurper, or the most sanguinary tyrant."---This is one among a thousand other instances, in which Mr. Burke shews that he is ignorant of the springs and principles of the French revolution.

It was not against Louis the XVIth, but against the despotic principles of the government, that the nation revolted. These principles had not their origin in him, but in the original establishment, many centuries back; and they were become too deeply rooted to be removed, and the augean stable of parasites and plunderers too abominably filthy to be cleansed,

ed, by any thing short of a complete and universal revolution. When it becomes necessary to do a thing, the whole heart and soul should go into the measure, or not attempt it. That crisis was then arrived, and there remained no choice but to act with determined vigour, or not to act at all. The King was known to be the friend of the nation, and this circumstance was favorable to the enterprise. Perhaps no man bred up in the stile of an absolute King, ever possessed a heart so little disposed to the exercise of that species of power as the present King of France. But the principles of the government itself still remained the same. The Monarch and the Monarchy were distinct and separate things; and it was against the established despotism of the latter, and not against the person or principles of the former, that the revolt commenced, and the revolution has been carried.

Mr. Burke does not attend to the distinction between *men* and *principles*, and therefore he does not see that a revolt may take place against the despotism of the latter, while there lies no charge of despotism against the former.

The natural moderation of Louis XVI contributed nothing to alter the hereditary despotism of the monarchy. All the tyrannies of former reigns, acted under that hereditary despotism, were still liable to be revived in the hands of a successor. It was not the respite of a reign that would satisfy France, enlightened as she was then become. A casual discontinuance of the *practice* of despotism, is not a discontinuance of its *principles*; the former depends on the virtue of the individual who is in immediate possession of the power; the latter, on the virtue and fortitude of the nation. In the case of Charles I. and James II. of England, the revolt was against the personal despotism of the men; whereas in France, it was against the hereditary despotism of the established government. But men who can consign over the rights of posterity for ever on the authority of a mouldy parchment, like Mr. Burke, are not qualified to judge of this revolution. It takes in a field too vast for their views to explore, and proceeds with a mightiness of reason they cannot keep pace with.

But there are many points of view in which this revolution may be considered. When despotism has established itself for ages in a country, as in France, it is not in the person of the King only that it resides. It has the appearance of being so

in show, and in nominal authority ; but it is not so in practice, and in fact. It has its standard every where. Every office and department has its despotism, founded upon custom and usage. Every place has its Bastille, and every Bastille its despot. The original hereditary despotism resident in the person of the King, divides and subdivides itself into a thousand shapes and forms, till at last the whole of it is acted by deputation. This was the case in France ; and against this species of despotism, proceeding on through an endless labyrinth of office till the source of it is scarcely perceptible, there is no mode of redress. It strengthens itself by assuming the appearance of duty, and tyrannises under the pretence of obeying.

When a man reflects on the condition which France was in from the nature of her government, he will see other causes for revolt than those which immediately connect themselves with the person or character of Louis XVI. There were, if I may so express it, a thousand despotisms to be reformed in France, which had grown up under the hereditary despotism of the monarchy, and became so rooted as to be in a great measure independent of it. Between the monarchy, the parliament, and the church, there was a *rivalship* of despotism ; besides the feudal despotism operating locally, and the ministerial despotism operating every-where. But Mr. Burke, by considering the King as the only possible object of a revolt, speaks as if France was a village, in which every thing that passed must be known to its commanding officer, and no oppression could be acted but what he could immediately controul. Mr. Burke might have been in the Bastille his whole life, as well under Louis XVI. as Louis XIV. and neither the one nor the other known that such a man as Mr. Burke existed. The despotic principles of the government were the same in both reigns, though the dispositions of the men were as remote as tyranny and benevolence.

What Mr. Burke considers as a reproach to the French Revolution (that of bringing it forward under a reign more mild than the preceding ones), is one of its highest honors. The revolutions that have taken place in other European countries, have been excited by personal hatred. The rage was against the man, and he became the victim. But, in the instance of France, we see a revolution generated in the rational contemplation

plation of the rights of man, and distinguishing from the beginning between persons and principles.

But Mr. Burke appears to have no idea of principles, when he is contemplating governments. "Ten years ago (says he) "I could have felicitated France on her having a government, "without enquiring what the nature of that government was, "or how it was administered." Is this the language of a rational man? Is it the language of a heart feeling as it ought to feel for the rights and happiness of the human race? On this ground Mr. Burke must compliment every government in the world, while the victims who suffer under them, whether sold into slavery, or tortured out of existence, are wholly forgotten. It is power, and not principles, that Mr. Burke venerates; and under this abominable depravity, he is disqualified to judge between them.---Thus much for his opinion as to the occasions of the French Revolution. I now proceed to other considerations.

I know a place in America called Point-no-Point; because as you proceed along the shore, gay and flowery as Mr Burke's language, it continually recedes and presents itself at a distance a-head; and when you have got as far as you can go, there is no point at all. Just thus it is with Mr. Burke's three-hundred and fifty-six pages. It is therefore difficult to reply to him. But as the points he wishes to establish may be inferred from what he abuses, it is in his paradoxes that we must look for his arguments.

As to the tragic paintings by which Mr. Burke has outraged his own imagination, and seeks to work upon that of his readers, they are very well calculated for theatrical representation where facts are manufactured for the sake of show, and accommodated to produce, through the weakness of sympathy, a weeping effect. But Mr. Burke should recollect that he is writing history, and not *Plays*; and that his readers will expect truth, and not the spouting rant of high-toned exclamation.

When we see a man dramatically lamenting in a publication intended to be believed, that "*The age of chivalry is gone!*" that "*The glory of Europe is extinguished for ever!*" that "*The unbought grace of life, (if any one knows what it is), the cheap defence of nations, the nurse of manly sentiment and heroic enterprise, is gone!*" and all this because the Quixote
age

age of chivalry nonsense is gone, what opinion can we form of his judgment, or what regard can we pay to his facts? In the rhapsody of his imagination, he has discovered a world of wind mills, and his sorrows are, that there are no Quixotes to attack them. But if the age of aristocracy, like that of chivalry, should fall, and they had originally some connection, Mr. Burke, the trumpeter of the Order, may continue his parody to the end, and finish with exclaiming---“*Othello's occupation's gone!*”

Notwithstanding Mr. Burke's horrid paintings, when the French Revolution is compared with that of other countries, the astonishment will be, that it is marked with so few sacrifices; but this astonishment will cease when we reflect that it was *principles*, and not *persons*, that were the meditated objects of destruction. The mind of the nation was acted upon by a higher stimulus than what the consideration of persons could inspire, and fought a higher conquest than could be produced by the downfall of an enemy. Among the few who fell there do not appear to be any that were intentionally singled out. They all of them had their fate in the circumstances of the moment, and were not pursued with that long, cold-blooded, unabated revenge which pursued the unfortunate Scotch in the affair of 1745.

Through the whole of Mr. Burke's book I do not observe that the Bastille is mentioned more than once, and that with a kind of implication as if he were sorry it is pulled down, and wished it were built up again. “We have rebuilt Newgate” (says he), and tenanted the mansion; and we have prisons “almost as strong as the Bastille for those who dare to libel the “Queens of France*.” As to what a madman, like the person called Lord George Gordon, might say, and to whom Newgate is rather a bedlam than a prison, it is unworthy a rational consideration. It was a madman that libelled---and that is sufficient apology; and it afforded an opportunity for con-
fining

* Since writing the above, two other places occur in Mr. Burke's pamphlet, in which the name of the Bastille is mentioned, but in the same manner. In the one, he introduces it in a sort of obscure question, and asks---“Will any ministers who now serve such a king, with but a decent appearance of respect, cordially obey the orders of those whom but the other day, *in his name*, they had committed to the Bastille?” In the other, the taking it is mentioned as implying criminality in the French guards who assisted in demolishing it.---“They have not (says he) forgot the taking the king's castles at Paris.”---This is Mr. Burke, who pretends to write on constitutional freedom.

fining him, which was the thing that was wished for: But certain it is that Mr. Burke, who does not call himself a madman, whatever other people may do, has libelled, in the most unprovoked manner, and in the grossest stile of the most vulgar abuse, the whole representative authority of France; and yet Mr. Burke takes his seat in the British House of Commons! From his violence and his grief, his silence on some points and his excess on others, it is difficult not to believe that Mr. Burke is sorry, extremely sorry, that arbitrary power, the power of the Pope, and the Bastille, are pulled down.

Not one glance of compassion, not one commiserating reflection, that I can find throughout his book, has he bestowed on those who lingered out the most wretched of lives, a life without hope, in the most miserable of prisons. It is painful to behold a man employing his talents to corrupt himself. Nature has been kinder to Mr. Burke than he is to her. He is not affected by the reality of distress touching upon his heart, but by the showy resemblance of it striking his imagination. He pities the plumage, but forgets the dying bird. Accustomed to kiss the aristocratical hand that hath purloined him from himself, he degenerates into a composition of art and the genuine soul of nature forsakes him. His hero or his heroine must be a tragedy-victim expiring in show, and not the real prisoner of misery, sliding into death in the silence of a dungeon.

As Mr. Burke has passed over the whole transaction of the Bastille (and his silence is nothing in his favour), and has entertained his readers with reflections on supposed facts distorted into real falsehoods, I will give, since he has not, some account of the circumstances which preceded that transaction. They will serve to shew, that less mischief could scarcely have accompanied such an event, when considered with the treacherous and hostile aggravations of the enemies of the Revolution.

The mind can hardly picture to itself a more tremendous scene than what the city of Paris exhibited at the time of taking the Bastille, and for two days before and after, nor conceive the possibility of its quieting so soon. At a distance, this transaction has appeared only as an act of heroism, standing on itself; and the close political connection it had with the Revolution is lost in the brilliancy of the achievement. But we are to consider it as the strength of the parties, brought man to man, and contending for the issue. The Bastille was

to be either the prize or the prison of the assailants. The downfall of it included the idea of the downfall of Despotism; and this compounded image was become as figuratively united as Bunyan's Doubting Castle and giant despair.

The National Assembly, before and at the time of taking the Bastille, was sitting at Versailles, twelve miles distant from Paris. About a week before the rising of the Parisians, and their taking the Bastille, it was discovered that a plot was forming, at the head of which was the Count d'Artois, the King's youngest brother, for demolishing the National Assembly, seizing its members, and thereby crushing, by a *coup de main*, all hopes and prospects of forming a free government. For the sake of humanity, as well as of freedom, it is well this plan did not succeed. Examples are not wanting to shew how dreadfully vindictive and cruel are all old governments, when they are successful against what they call a revolt.

This plan must have been some time in contemplation; because in order to carry it into execution, it was necessary to collect a large military force round Paris, and to cut off the communication between that city and the National Assembly at Versailles. The troops destined for this service were chiefly the foreign troops in the pay of France, and who, for this particular purpose, were drawn from the distant provinces where they were then stationed. When they were collected, to the amount of between twenty five and thirty thousand, it was judged time to put the plan into execution. The ministry who were then in office, and who were friendly to the Revolution, were instantly dismissed, and a new ministry formed of those who had concerted the project;---among whom was Count de Broglio, and to his share was given the command of those troops. The character of this man, as described to me in a letter which I communicated to Mr. Burke before he began to write his book, and from an authority which Mr. Burke well knows was good, was that of "an high flying aristocrat, cool, and capable of every mischief."

While these matters were agitating, the National Assembly stood in the most perilous and critical situation that a body of men can be supposed to act in. They were the devoted victims, and they knew it. They had the hearts and wishes of their country on their side, but military authority they had none. The guards of Broglio surrounded the hall where the Assembly sat,

fat, ready, at the word of command, to seize their persons, as had been done the year before to the parliament in Paris. Had the National Assembly deserted their trust, or had they exhibited signs of weakness or fear, their enemies had been encouraged, and the country depressed. When the situation they stood in, the cause they were engaged in, and the crisis then ready to burst which should determine their personal and political fate, and that of their country, and probably of Europe, are taken into one view, none but a heart callous with prejudice, or corrupted by dependance, can avoid interesting itself in their success.

The Archbishop of Vienne was at this time president of the National Assembly; a person too old to undergo the scene that a few days, or a few hours, might bring forth. A man of more activity, and bolder fortitude, was necessary; and the National Assembly chose (under the form of a vice-president, for the presidency still resided in the archbishop) M. de la Fayette; and this is the only instance of a vice-president being chosen. It was at the moment that this storm was pending (July 11) that a declaration of rights was brought forward by M. de la Fayette, and is the same which is alluded to in page 15. It was hastily drawn up, and makes only a part of a more extensive declaration of rights, agreed upon and adopted afterwards by the National Assembly. The particular reason for bringing it forward at this moment, (M. de la Fayette has since informed me) was, that if the National Assembly should fall in the threatened destruction that then surrounded it, some traces of its principles might have the chance of surviving the wreck.

Every thing now was drawing to a crisis. The event was freedom or slavery. On one side, an army of nearly thirty thousand men; on the other, an unarmed body of citizens; for the citizens of Paris, on whom the National Assembly must then immediately depend, were as unarmed and as undisciplined as the citizens of London are now.---The French guards had given strong symptoms of their being attached to the national cause; but their numbers were small, not a tenth part of the force that Broglio commanded, and their officers were in the interest of Broglio.

Matters being now ripe for execution, the new ministry made their appearance in office. The reader will carry in his mind,

mind, that the Bastille was taken the 14th of July: the point of time I am now speaking to, is the 12th. Immediately on the news of the change of ministry reaching Paris in the afternoon, all the play-houses and places of entertainment, shops and houses, were shut up. The change of ministry was considered as the prelude of hostilities, and the opinion was rightly founded.

The foreign troops began to advance towards the city. The Prince de Lambesc, who commanded a body of German cavalry, approached by the Place of Lewis XV. which connects itself with some of the streets. In his march, he insulted and struck an old man with his sword. The French are remarkable for their respect to old age, and the insolence with which it appeared to be done, uniting with the general fermentation they were in, produced a powerful effect, and a cry of *To arms! to arms!* spread itself in a moment over the city.

Arms they had none, nor scarcely any who knew the use of them: but desperate resolution, when every hope is at stake, supplies, for a while, the want of arms. Near where the Prince de Lambesc was drawn up, were large piles of stones collected for building the new bridge, and with these the people attacked the cavalry. A party of the French guards, upon hearing the firing, rushed from their quarters and joined the people; and night coming on the cavalry retreated.

The streets of Paris, being narrow, are favourable for defence; and the loftiness of the houses, consisting of many stories, from which great annoyance might be given, secured them against nocturnal enterprizes; and the night was spent in providing themselves with every sort of weapon they could make or procure: Guns, swords, blacksmiths hammers, carpenters axes, iron crows, pikes, halberts, pitchforks, spits, clubs, &c. &c.

The incredible numbers with which they assembled the next morning, and the still more incredible resolution they exhibited, embarrassed and astonished their enemies. Little did the new ministry expect such a salute. Accustomed to slavery themselves, they had no idea that Liberty was capable of such inspiration, or that a body of unarmed citizens would dare to face the military force of thirty thousand men. Every moment of this day was employed in collecting arms, concerting plans, and arranging themselves into the best order which such an instantaneous movement could afford. Broglie continued
lying

lying round the city, but made no further advances this day, and the succeeding night passed with as much tranquillity as such a scene could possibly produce.

But defence only was not the object of the citizens. They had a cause at stake, on which depended their freedom or their slavery. They every moment expected an attack, or to hear of one made on the National Assembly; and in such a situation, the most prompt measures are sometimes the best. The object that now presented itself, was the Bastille; and the eclat of carrying such a fortress in the face of such an army, could not fail to strike a terror into the new ministry, who had scarcely yet had time to meet. By some intercepted correspondence this morning, it was discovered, that the Mayor of Paris, M. Defflesselles, who appeared to be in their interest, was betraying them; and from this discovery, there remained no doubt that Broglie would reinforce the Bastille the ensuing evening. It was therefore necessary to attack it that day; but before this could be done, it was first necessary to procure a better supply of arms than they were then possessed of.

There was adjoining to the city, a large magazine of arms deposited at the Hospital of the invalids, which the citizens summoned to surrender; and as the place was not defensible, nor attempted much defence, they soon succeeded. Thus supplied, they marched to attack the Bastille; a vast mixed multitude of all ages, and of all degrees, and armed with all sorts of weapons. Imagination would fail in describing to itself the appearance of such a procession, and of the anxiety for the events which a few hours or a few minutes might produce. What plans the ministry was forming, were as unknown to the people within the city, as what the citizens were doing was unknown to them; and what movements Broglie might make for the support or relief of the place, were to the citizens equally as well unknown. All was mystery and hazard.

That the Bastille was attacked with an enthusiasm of heroism, such only as the highest animation of liberty could inspire, and carried in the space of a few hours, is an event which the world is fully possessed of. I am not undertaking a detail of the attack, but bringing into view the conspiracy against the nation which provoked it, and which fell with the Bastille. The prison to which the new ministry were dooming the National Assembly, in addition to its being the high altar

and castle of despotism, became the proper object to begin with. This enterprise broke up the new ministry, who began now to fly from the ruin they had prepared for others. The troops of Broglie dispersed, and himself fled also.

Mr. Burke has spoken a great deal about plots, but he has never once spoken of this plot against the National Assembly, and the liberties of the nation; and that he might not, he has passed over all the circumstances that might throw it in his way. The exiles who have fled from France, whose case he so much interests himself in, and from whom he has had his lesson, fled in consequence of the miscarriage of this plot. No plot was formed against them: it were they who were plotting against others; and those who fell, met, not unjustly, the punishment they were preparing to execute. But will Mr. Burke say, that if this plot, contrived with the subtlety of an ambuscade, had succeeded, the successful party would have restrained their wrath so soon? Let the history of all old governments answer the question.

Whom has the National Assembly brought to the scaffold? None. They were themselves the devoted victims of this plot, and they have not retaliated; why then are they charged with revége they have not acted? In the tremendous breaking forth of a whole people, in which all degrees, tempers and characters are confounded, and delivering themselves, by a miracle of exertion, from the destruction meditated against them, is it to be expected that nothing will happen? When men are sore with the sense of oppressions, and menaced with the prospect of new ones, is the calmness of philosophy, or the palsy of insensibility, to be looked for? Mr. Burke exclaims against outrage; yet the greatest is that which himself has committed. His book is a volume of outrage, not apologized for by the impulse of a moment, but cherished through a space of ten months; yet Mr. Burke had no provocation, no life, no interest at stake.

More citizens fell in this struggle than of their opponents: but four or five persons were seized by the populace, and instantly put to death; the Governor of the Bastille, and the Mayor of Paris, who was detected in the act of betraying them; and afterwards Foulon, one of the new ministry, and Berthier his son-in-law, who had accepted the office of intendant of Paris. Their heads were stuck upon spikes, and carried about

about the city ; and it is upon this mode of punishment that Mr. Burke builds a great part of his tragic scenes. Let us therefore examine how men came by the idea of punishing in this manner.

They learn it from the governments they live under, and retaliate the punishments they have been accustomed to behold. The heads stuck upon spikes, which remained for years upon Temple-bar, differed nothing in the horror of the scene from those carried about upon spikes at Paris: yet this was done by the English government. It may perhaps be said, that it signifies nothing to a man what is done to him after he is dead; but it signifies much to the living: it either tortures their feelings, or hardens their hearts; and in either case, it instructs them how to punish when power falls into their hands.

Lay then the axe to the root, and teach governments humanity. It is their sanguinary punishments which corrupt mankind. In England, the punishment in certain cases, is by *hanging, drawing and quartering*; the heart of the sufferer is cut out, and held up to the view of the populace. In France under the former government, the punishments were not less barbarous. Who does not remember the execution of Damien, torn to pieces by horses? The effect of those cruel spectacles exhibited to the populace, is to destroy tenderness, or excite revenge; and by the base and false idea of governing men by terror, instead of reason, they become precedents. It is over the lowest class of mankind that government by terror is intended to operate, and it is on them that it operates to the worst effect. They have sense enough to feel they are the objects aimed at; and they inflict in their turn the examples of terror they have been instructed to practise.

There are in all European countries, a large class of people of that description which in England are called the "*mob*." Of this class were those who committed the burnings and devastations in London in 1780, and of this class were those who carried the heads upon spikes in Paris. Foulon and Berthier were taken up in the country, and sent to Paris, to undergo their examination at the Hotel de Ville; for the National Assembly, immediately on the new ministry coming into office, passed a decree, which they communicated to the King and Cabinet, that they (the National Assembly) would hold the
ministry

ministry, of which Foulon was one; responsible for the measures they were advising and pursuing; but the mob, incensed at the appearance of Foulon and Berthier, tore them from their conductors before they were carried to the Hotel de Ville, and executed them on the spot. Why then does Mr. Burke charge outrages of this kind on a whole people? As well may he charge the riots and outrages of 1780 on all the people of London, or those in Ireland on all his country.

But every thing we see or hear offensive to our feelings, and derogatory to the human character, should lead to other reflections than those of reproach. Even the beings who commit them have some claim to our consideration. How then is it that such vast classes of mankind as are distinguished by the appellation of the vulgar, or the ignorant mob, are so numerous in all old countries? The instant we ask ourselves this question, reflection feels an answer, They arise, as an unavoidable consequence, out of the ill construction of all the old governments in Europe, England included with the rest. It is by distortedly exalting some men, that others are distortedly debased, till the whole is out of nature. A vast mass of mankind are degradedly thrown into the background of the human picture, to bring forward, with greater glare, the puppet-show of state and aristocracy. In the commencement of a Revolution, those men are rather the followers of the *camp* than of the *standard* of liberty, and have yet to be instructed how to reverence it.

I give to Mr. Burke all his theatrical exaggerations for facts, and I then ask him, if they do not establish the certainty of what I here lay down? Admitting them to be true, they shew the necessity of the French Revolution, as much as any one thing he could have asserted. These outrages were not the effect of the principles of the Revolution, but of the degraded mind that existed before the Revolution, and which the Revolution is calculated to reform. Place them then to their proper cause, and take the reproach of them to your own side.

It is to the honour of the National Assembly, and the city of Paris, that during such a tremendous scene of arms and confusion, beyond the controul of all authority, that they have been able, by the influence of example and exhortation, to restrain so much. Never were more pains taken to instruct and enlighten mankind, and to make them see that their inter-

rest consisted in their virtue, and not in their revenge, than what have been displayed in the Revolution of France.---I now proceed to make some remarks on Mr. Burke's account of the expedition to Versailles, October 5th and 6th.

I cannot consider Mr. Burke's book in scarcely any other light than a dramatic performance; and he must, I think, have considered it in the same light himself, by the poetical liberties he has taken of omitting some facts, distorting others, and making the whole machinery bend to produce a stage effect. Of this kind is his account of the expedition to Versailles. He begins this account by omitting the only facts which as causes are known to be true; every thing beyond these is conjecture even in Paris: and he then works up a tale accommodated to his own passions and prejudices.

It is to be observed throughout Mr. Burke's book, that he never speaks of plots *against* the Revolution; and it is from those plots that all the mischiefs have arisen. It suits his purpose to exhibit the consequences without their causes. It is one of the arts of the drama to do so. If the crimes of men were exhibited with their sufferings, the stage effect would sometimes be lost, and the audience would be inclined to approve where it was intended they should commiserate.

After all the investigations that have been made into this intricate affair, (the expedition to Versailles) it still remains enveloped in all that kind of mystery which ever accompanies events produced more from a concurrence of awkward circumstances, than from fixed design. While the characters of men are forming, as is always the case in revolutions, there is a reciprocal suspicion, and a disposition to misinterpret each other; and even parties directly opposite in principle, will sometimes concur in pushing forward the same movement with very different views, and with the hopes of its producing very different consequences. A great deal of this may be discovered in this embarrassed affair, and yet the issue of the whole was what nobody had in view.

The only things certainly known, are, that considerable uneasiness was at this time excited at Paris, by the delay of the King in not sanctioning and forwarding the decrees of the National Assembly, particularly that of the *Declaration of the rights of Man*, and the decrees of the *fourth of August*, which contained the foundation principles on which the constitution

was

was to be erected. The kindest, and perhaps the fairest conjecture upon this matter is, that some of the ministers intended to make remarks and observations upon certain parts of them, before they were finally sanctioned and sent to the provinces; but be this as it may, the enemies of the revolution derived hopes from the delay, and the friends of the revolution, uneasiness.

During this state of suspense, the *Garde du Corps*, which was composed, as such regiments generally are, of persons much connected with the Court, gave an entertainment at Versailles (Oct. 1,) to some foreign regiments then arrived; and when the entertainment was at the height, on a signal given, the *Garde du Corps* tore the National cockade from their hats, trampled it under foot, and replaced it with a counter cockade prepared for the purpose. An indignity of this kind amounted to defiance. It was like declaring war; and if men will give challenges, they must expect consequences. But all this Mr. Burke has carefully kept out of sight. He begins his account by saying, "History will record, that on the morning of the 6th of Oct. 1789, the King and Queen of France after a day of confusion, alarm, dismay, and slaughter, lay down under the pledged security of public faith, to indulge nature in a few hours of respite, and troubled melancholy repose." This is neither the sober stile of history, nor the intention of it. It leaves every thing to be guessed at, and mistaken. One would at least think there had been a battle; and a battle there probably would have been, had it not been for the moderating prudence of those whom Mr. Burke involves in his censures. By his keeping the *Garde du Corps* out of sight, Mr. Burke has afforded himself the dramatic licence of putting the King and Queen in their places, as if the object of the expedition was against them.---But, to return to my account.---

This conduct of the *Garde du Corps*, as might well be expected, alarmed and enraged the Parisians. The colours of the cause, and the cause itself, were become too united to mistake the intention of the insult, and the Parisians were determined to call the *Garde du Corps* to an account. There was certainly nothing of the cowardice of assassination in marching in the face of day to demand satisfaction, if such a phrase may be used, of a body of armed men who had voluntarily given

given defiance. But the circumstance which serves to throw this affair into embarrassment is, that the enemies of the revolution appear to have encouraged it, as well as its friends. The one hoped to prevent a civil war by checking it in time, and the other to make one. The hopes of those opposed to the revolution, rested in making the King of their party, and getting him from Versailles to Metz, where they expected to collect a force, and set up a standard. We have therefore two different objects presenting themselves at the same time, and to be accomplished by the same means: the one, to chastise the *Garde du Corps*, which was the object of the Parisians; the other, to render the confusion of such a scene an inducement to the King to set off for Metz.

On the 5th of October, a very numerous body of women, and men in the disguise of women, collected round the Hotel de Ville or town-hall at Paris, and set off for Versailles. Their professed object was the *Garde du Corps*; but prudent men readily recollect that mischief is easier begun than ended; and this impressed itself with the more force, from the suspicions already stated, and the irregularity of such a cavalcade. As soon therefore as a sufficient force could be collected, M. de la Fayette, by orders from the civil authority of Paris, set off after them at the head of twenty thousand of the Paris militia. The revolution could derive no benefit from confusion, and its opposers might. By an amiable and spirited manner of address, he had hitherto been fortunate in calming dissensions, and in this he was extraordinarily successful; to frustrate, therefore, the hopes of those who might seek to improve this scene into a sort of justifiable necessity for the King's quitting Versailles and withdrawing to Metz, and to prevent at the same time, the consequences that might ensue between the *Garde du Corps* and this phalanx of men and women, he forwarded expresses to the King, that he was on his march to Versailles, at the orders of the civil authority of Paris, for the purpose of peace and protection, expressing at the same time, the necessity of restraining the *Garde du Corps* from firing upon the people*.

He arrived at Versailles between ten and eleven at night. The *Garde du Corps* was drawn up, and the people had arrived

* I am warranted in asserting this, as I had it personally from M. de la Fayette, with whom I have lived in habits of friendship for fourteen years.

some time before, but every thing had remained suspended. Wisdom and policy now consisted in changing a scene of danger into a happy event. M. de la Fayette became the mediator between the enraged parties; and the King, to remove the uneasiness which had arisen from the delay already stated, sent for the President of the National Assembly, and signed the *Declaration of the rights of Man*, and such other parts of the constitution as were in readiness.

It was now about one in the morning. Every thing appeared to be composed, and a general congratulation took place. At the beat of drum, a proclamation was made, that the citizens of Versailles would give the hospitality of their houses to their fellow-citizens of Paris. Those who could not be accommodated in this manner, remained in the streets, or took up their quarters in the churches; and at two o'clock the King and Queen retired.

In this state matters passed till the break of day, when a fresh disturbance arose from the censurable conduct of some of both parties, for such characters there will be in all such scenes. One of the *Garde du Corps* appeared at one of the windows of the palace, and the people who had remained during the night in the streets accosted him with reviling and provocative language. Instead of retiring, as in such a case prudence would have dictated, he presented his musket, fired, and killed one of the Paris militia. The peace being thus broken, the people rushed into the palace in quest of the offender. They attacked the quarters of the *Garde du Corps* within the palace, and pursued them throughout the avenues of it, and to the apartments of the King. On this tumult, not the Queen only, as Mr. Burke has represented it, but every person in the palace, was awakened and alarmed; and M. de la Fayette had a second time to interpose between the parties, the event of which was, that the *Garde du Corps* put on the national cockade, and the matter ended as by oblivion, after the loss of two or three lives.

During the latter part of the time in which this confusion was acting, the King and Queen were in public at the balcony, and neither of them concealed for safety's sake, as Mr. Burke insinuates. Matters being thus appeased, and tranquillity restored, a general acclamation broke forth, of *Le Roi à Paris---* *Le Roi à Paris---*The King to Paris. It was the shout of peace,

peace, and immediately accepted on the part of the King. By this measure, all future projects of trepanning the King to Metz, and setting up the standard of opposition to the constitution, were prevented, and the suspicions extinguished. The King and his family reached Paris in the evening, and were congratulated on their arrival by M. Bailley the Mayor of Paris, in the name of the citizens. Mr. Burke, who throughout his book confounds things, persons, and principles, has in his remarks on M. Bailley's address, confounded time also. He censures M. Bailley for calling it, "*un bon jour*," a good day. Mr. Burke should have informed himself, that this scene took up the space of two days, the day on which it began with every appearance of danger and mischief, and the day on which it terminated without the mischiefs that threatened; and that it is to this peaceful termination that M. Bailley alludes, and to the arrival of the King at Paris. Not less than three hundred thousand persons arranged themselves in the procession from Versailles to Paris, and not an act of molestation was committed during the whole march.

Mr. Burke, on the authority of M. Lally Tollendal, a deserter from the National Assembly, says, that on entering Paris, the people shouted, "*Tous les eveques à la lanterne.*" All bishops to be hanged at the lanthorn or lamp-posts.---It is surprising that nobody should hear this but Lally Tollendal, and that nobody should believe it but Mr. Burke. It has not the least connection with any part of the transaction, and is totally foreign to every circumstance of it. The bishops have never been introduced before into any scene of Mr. Burke's drama: Why then are they, all at once, and altogether, *tout à coup et tous ensemble*, introduced now? Mr. Burke brings forward his bishops and his lanthorn like figures in a magic lanthorn, and raises his scenes by contrast instead of connection. But it serves to shew, with the rest of his book, what little credit ought to be given, where even probability is set at defiance, for the purpose of defaming; and with this reflection, instead of a soliloquy in praise of chivalry, as Mr. Burke has done, I close the account of the expedition to Versailles*.

I have now to follow Mr. Burke through a pathless wilderness of rhapsodies, and a sort of descant upon governments, in

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which

* An account of the expedition to Versailles may be seen in N°. 13. of the *Revolutions de Paris*, containing the events from the 3d to the 10th of October 1789.

which he asserts whatever he pleases, on the presumption of its being believed, without offering either evidence or reasons for so doing.

Before any thing can be reasoned upon to a conclusion, certain facts, principles, or data, to reason from, must be established, admitted, or denied. Mr. Burke, with his usual outrage, abuses the *Declaration of the rights of Man*, published by the National Assembly of France as the basis on which the constitution of France is built. This he calls "paltry and blurred sheets of paper about the rights of man."---Does Mr. Burke mean to deny that *man* has any rights? If he does, then he must mean that there are no such things as rights any where, and that he has none himself; for who is there in the world but man? But if Mr. Burke means to admit that man has rights, the question then will be, what are those rights, and how came man by them originally?

The error of those who reason by precedents drawn from antiquity, respecting the rights of man, is, that they do not go far enough into antiquity. They do not go the whole way. They stop in some of the intermediate stages of an hundred or a thousand years, and produce what was then done as a rule for the present day. This is no authority at all. If we travel still farther into antiquity, we shall find a direct contrary opinion and practice prevailing; and if antiquity is to be authority, a thousand such authorities may be produced, successively contradicting each other: but if we proceed on, we shall at last come out right; we shall come to the time when man came from the hand of his Maker. What was he then? Man. Man was his high and only title, and a higher cannot be given him.-----But of titles I shall speak hereafter.

We are now got at the origin of man, and at the origin of his rights. As to the manner in which the world has been governed from that day to this, it is no farther any concern of ours than to make a proper use of the errors or the improvements which the history of it presents. Those who lived a hundred or a thousand years ago, were then moderns as we are now. They had *their* ancients, and those ancients had others, and we also shall be ancients in our turn. If the mere name of antiquity is to govern in the affairs of life, the people who are to live an hundred or a thousand years hence, may as well take us for a precedent, as we make a precedent of those who lived

lived an hundred or a thousand years ago. The fact is, that portions of antiquity, by proving every thing, establish nothing. It is authority against authority all the way, till we come to the divine origin of the rights of man at the creation. Here our enquiries find a resting-place, and our reason finds a home. If a dispute about the rights of man had arose at the distance of an hundred years from the creation, it is to this source of authority they must have referred, and it is to the same source of authority that we must now refer.

Though I mean not to touch upon any sectarian principle of religion, yet it may be worth observing, that the genealogy of Christ is traced to Adam. Why then not trace the rights of man to the creation of man? I will answer the question. Because there have been an upstart of governments, thrusting themselves between, and presumptuously working to *un make* man.

If any generation of men ever possessed the right of dictating the mode by which the world should be governed for ever, it was the first generation that existed; and if that generation did not do it, no succeeding generation can shew any authority for doing it, not set any up. The illuminating and divine principle of the equal rights of man, (for it has its origin from the Maker of man) relates, not only to the living individuals, but to generations of men succeeding each other. Every generation is equal in rights to the generations which preceded it, by the same rule that every individual is born equal in rights with his cotemporary.

Every history of the creation, and every traditionary account, whether from the lettered or unlettered world, however they may vary in their opinion or belief of certain particulars, all agree in establishing one point, *the unity of man*; by which I mean that man is all of *one degree*, and consequently that all men are born equal, and with equal natural rights, in the same manner as if posterity had been continued by *creation* instead of *generation*, the latter being only the mode by which the former is carried forward; and consequently, every child born into the world must be considered as deriving its existence from God. The world is as new to him as it was to the first man that existed, and his natural right in it is of the same kind.

The Mosaic account of the creation, whether taken as divine authority, or merely historical, is fully up to this point, *the unity or equality of man*. The expressions admit of no controversy. "And God said, Let us make man in our own image. In the image of God created he him; male and female created he them." The distinction of sexes is pointed out, but no other distinction is even implied. If this be not divine authority, it is at least historical authority, and shews that the equality of man, so far from being a modern doctrine, is the oldest upon record.

It is also to be observed, that all the religions known in the world are founded, so far as they relate to man, on the *unity of man*, as being all of one degree. Whether in heaven or in hell, or in whatever state man may be supposed to exist hereafter, the good and the bad are the only distinctions. Nay, even the laws of governments are obliged to slide into this principle, by making degrees to consist in crimes, and not in persons.

It is one of the greatest of all truths, and of the highest advantage to cultivate. By considering man in this light, and by instructing him to consider himself in this light, it places him in a close connection with all his duties, whether to his Creator, or to the creation, of which he is a part; and it is only when he forgets his origin, or, to use a more fashionable phrase, his *birth and family*, that he becomes dissolute. It is not among the least of the evils of the present existing governments in all parts of Europe, that man, considered as man, is thrown back to a vast distance from his Maker, and the artificial chasm filled up by a succession of barriers, or a sort of turnpike gates, through which he has to pass. I will quote Mr. Burke's catalogue of barriers that he has set up between man and his Maker. Putting himself in the character of a herald, he says--"We fear God---we look with *awe* to kings, " with affection to parliaments---with duty to magistrates--- " with reverence to priests, and with respect to nobility." Mr. Burke has forgot to put in "*chivalry*." He has also forgot to put in Peter.

The duty of man is not a wilderness of turnpike gates, through which he is to pass by tickets from one to the other. It is plain and simple, and consists but of two points. His duty to God, which every man must feel; and with respect to his neighbour,

neighbour, to do as he would be done by. If those to whom power is delegated do well, they will be respected; if not, they will be despised: and with regard to those to whom no power is delegated, but who assume it, the rational world can know nothing of them.

Hitherto we have spoken only (and that but in part) of the natural rights of man. We have now to consider the civil rights of man, and to shew how the one originates out of the other. Man did not enter into society to become *worse* than he was before, nor to have less rights than he had before, but to have those rights better secured. His natural rights are the foundation of all his civil rights. But in order to pursue this distinction with more precision, it will be necessary to mark the different qualities of natural and civil rights.

A few words will explain this. Natural rights are those which appertain to man in right of his existence. Of this kind are all the intellectual rights, or rights of the mind, and also all those rights of acting as an individual for his own comfort and happiness, which are not injurious to the natural rights of others.---Civil rights are those which appertain to man in right of his being a member of society. Every civil right has for its foundation some natural right pre-existing in the individual, but to which his individual power is not, in all cases, sufficiently competent. Of this kind are all those which relate to security and protection.

From this short review, it will be easy to distinguish between that class of natural rights which man retains after entering into society, and those which he throws into common stock as a member of society.

The natural rights which he retains, are all those in which the *power* to execute is as perfect in the individual as the right itself. Among this class, as is before mentioned, are all the intellectual rights, or rights of the mind: consequently, religion is one of those rights. The natural rights which are not retained, are all those in which, though the right is perfect in the individual, the power to execute them is defective. They answer not his purpose. A man, by natural right, has a right to judge in his own cause; and so far as the right of the mind is concerned, he never surrenders it: But what availeth it him to judge, if he has not power to redress? He therefore deposits this right in the common stock of society, and takes the

arm of society, of which he is a part, in preference and in addition to his own. Society *grants* him nothing. Every man is a proprietor in society, and draws on the capital as a matter of right.

From those premises, two or three certain conclusions will follow.

First, That every civil right grows out of a natural right; or, in other words, is a natural right exchanged.

Secondly, That civil power, properly considered as such, is made up of the aggregate of that class of the natural rights of man, which becomes defective in the individual in point of power, and answers not his purpose, but when collected to a focus, becomes competent to the purpose of every one.

Thirdly, That the power produced from the aggregate of natural rights, imperfect in power in the individual, cannot be applied to invade the natural rights which are retained in the individual, and in which the power to execute is as perfect as the right itself.

We have now, in a few words, traced man from a natural individual to a member of society, and shewn, or endeavoured to shew, the quality of the natural rights retained, and of those which are exchanged for civil rights. Let us now apply those principles to governments.

In casting our eyes over the world it is extremely easy to distinguish the governments which have arisen out of society, or out of the social compact, from those which have not: But to place this in a clearer light than what a single glance may afford, it will be proper to take a review of the several sources from which governments have arisen, and on which they have been founded.

They may be all comprehended under three heads. First, Superstition. Secondly, Power. Thirdly, the common interest of society, and the common rights of man.

The first was a government of priest-craft, the second of conquerors, and the third of reason.

When a set of artful men pretended, through the medium of oracles, to hold intercourse with the Deity, as familiarly as they now march up the back-stairs in European courts, the world was completely under the government of superstition. The oracles were consulted, and whatever they were made to say, became the law; and this sort of government lasted as long as this sort of superstition lasted. After

After these a race of conquerors arose, whose government, like that of William the Conqueror, was founded in power, and the sword assumed the name of a scepter. Governments thus established, last as long as the power to support them lasts, but that they might avail themselves of every engine in their favour, they united fraud to force, and set up an idol which they called *Divine Right*, and which, in imitation of the Pope, who affects to be spiritual and temporal, and in contradiction to the Founder of the Christian Religion, twisted itself afterwards into an idol of another shape, called *Church and State*. The key of St. Peter, and the key of the Treasury, became quartered on one another, and the wondering cheated multitude worshipped the invention.

When I contemplate the natural dignity of man; when I feel, (for Nature has not been kind enough to me to blunt my feelings) for the honour and happiness of its character, I become irritated at the attempt to govern mankind by force and fraud, as if they were all knaves and fools, and can scarcely avoid disgust at those who are thus imposed upon.

We have now to review the governments which arise out of society, in contradistinction to those which arose out of superstition and conquest.

It has been thought a considerable advance towards establishing the principles of Freedom, to say, that government is a compact between those who govern and those who are governed: but this cannot be true, because it is putting the effect before the cause; for as man must have existed before governments existed, there necessarily was a time when governments did not exist, and consequently there could originally exist no governors to form such a compact with. The fact therefore must be, that the *individuals themselves*, each in his own personal and sovereign right, *entered into a compact with each other* to produce a government: and this is the only mode in which governments have a right to arise, and the only principle on which they have a right to exist.

To possess ourselves of a clear idea of what government is, or ought to be, we must trace it to its origin. In doing this, we shall easily discover that governments must have arisen, either *out of the people*, or *over the people*. Mr. Burke has made no distinction. He investigates nothing to its source, and therefore he confounds every thing: but he has signified his intention

of undertaking at some future opportunity, a comparison between the constitutions of England and France. As he thus renders it a subject of controversy by throwing the gauntlet, I take him up on his own ground. It is in high challenges that high truths have the right of appearing; and I accept it with the more readiness, because it affords me, at the same time, an opportunity of pursuing the subject with respect to governments arising out of society.

But it will be first necessary to define what is meant by a *constitution*. It is not sufficient that we adopt the word; we must fix also a standard signification to it.

A constitution is not a thing in name only, but in fact. It has not an ideal, but a real existence; and wherever it cannot be produced in a visible form, there is none. A constitution is a thing *antecedent* to a government, and a government is only the creature of a constitution. The constitution of a country is not the act of its government, but of the people constituting a government. It is the body of elements, to which you can refer, and quote article by article; and which contains the principles on which the government shall be established, the manner in which it shall be organized, the powers it shall have, the mode of elections, the duration of parliaments, or by what other name such bodies may be called; the powers which the executive part of the government shall have; and, in fine, every thing that relates to the complete organization of a civil government, and the principles on which it shall act, and by which it shall be bound. A constitution, therefore, is to a government, what the laws made afterwards by that government are to a court of judicature. The court of judicature does not make the laws, neither can it alter them; it only acts in conformity to the laws made; and the government is in like manner governed by the constitution.

Can then Mr. Burke produce the English Constitution? If he cannot, we may fairly conclude, that though it has been so much talked about, no such thing as a constitution exists, or ever did exist, and consequently that the people have yet a constitution to form.

Mr. Burke will not, I presume, deny the position I have already advanced; namely, that governments arise either *out* of the people, or *over* the people. The English government is one of those which arose out of a conquest, and not out of society

society, and consequently it arose over the people; and though it has been much modified from the opportunity of circumstances since the time of William the Conqueror, the country has never yet regenerated itself, and is therefore without a constitution.

I readily perceive the reason why Mr. Burke declined going into the comparison between the English and French constitutions, because he could not but perceive, when he sat down to the task, that no such thing as a constitution existed on his side the question. His book is certainly bulky enough to have contained all he could say on this subject, and it would have been the best manner in which people could have judged of their separate merits. Why then has he declined the only thing that was worth while to write upon? It was the strongest ground he could take, if the advantages were on his side; but the weakest, if they were not; and his declining to take it, is either a sign that he could not possess it, or could not maintain it.

Mr. Burke has said in a speech last winter in parliament, that when the National Assembly, first met in three Orders, (the Tiers Etats, the Clergy, and the Noblesse,) that France had then a good Constitution. This shews, among numerous other instances, that Mr. Burke does not understand what a Constitution is. The persons so met, were not a *constitution*, but a *convention* to make a constitution.

The present National Assembly of France is, strictly speaking, the personal social compact. The members of it are the delegates of the nation in its *original* character; future assemblies will be the delegates of the nation in its *organized* character. The authority of the present Assembly is different to what the authority of future Assemblies will be. The authority of the present one is to form a constitution: the authority of future Assemblies will be to legislate according to the principles and forms prescribed in that constitution; and if experience should hereafter shew that alterations, amendments, or additions are necessary, the constitution will point out the mode by which such things shall be done, and not leave it to the discretionary power of the future government.

A government on the principles on which constitutional governments arising out of society are established, cannot have the right of altering itself. If it had, it would be arbitrary. It

might make itself what it pleased ; and wherever such a right is set up, it shews there is no constitution. The act by which the English Parliament empowered itself to set seven years, shews there is no constitution in England. It might, by the same self-authority, have sit any greater number of years, or for life. The Bill which the present Mr. Pitt brought into parliament some years ago, to reform parliament, was on the same erroneous principle. The right of reform is in the nation in its original character, and the constitutional method would be by a general convention elected for the purpose. There is moreover a paradox in the idea of vitiated bodies reforming themselves.

From these preliminaries I proceed to draw some comparisons. I have already spoken of the declaration of rights ; and as I mean to be as concise as possible, I shall proceed to other parts of the French constitution.

The constitution of France says, that every man who pays a tax of sixty sous *per annum*, (2s. and 6d. English,) is an elector. What article will Mr. Burke place against this ? Can any thing be more limited, and at the same time more capricious, than what the qualifications of electors are in England ? Limited---because not one man in an hundred (I speak much within compass) is admitted to vote : Capricious---because the lowest character that can be supposed to exist, and who has not so much as the visible means of an honest livelihood, is an elector in some places ; while, in other places, the man who pays very large taxes, and with a fair known character, and the farmer who rents to the amount of three or four hundred pounds a year, and with a property on that farm to three or four times that amount, is not admitted to be an elector. Every thing is out of nature, as Mr. Burke says on another occasion, in this strange chaos, and all sorts of follies are blended with all sorts of crimes. William the Conqueror and his descendents parcelled out the country in this manner, and bribed one part of it by what they called Charters, to hold the other parts of it the better subjected to their will. This is the reason why so many of those Charters abound in Cornwall. The people were averse to the government established at the conquest, and the towns were garrisoned and bribed to enslave the country. All the old Charters are the badges of this conquest, and it is from this source that the capriciousness of elections arises.

The French constitution says, that the number of representatives for any place shall be in a ratio to the number of taxable inhabitants or elector. What article will Mr. Burke place against this? The county of Yorkshire, which contains near a million of souls, sends two county members; and so does the county of Rutland, which contains not an hundredth part of that number. The town of old Sarum, which contains not three houses, sends two members; and the town of Manchester, which contains upwards of sixty thousand souls, is not admitted to send any. Is there any principle in these things? Is there any thing by which you can trace the marks of freedom, or discover those of wisdom? No wonder then Mr. Burke has declined the comparison, and endeavored to lead his readers from the point by a wild unsystematical display of paradoxical rhapsodies.

The French constitution says, that the National Assembly shall be elected every two years. What article will Mr. Burke place against this? Why, that the nation has no right at all in the case: that the government is perfectly arbitrary with respect to this point; and he can quote for his authority, the precedent of a former parliament.

The French constitution says, there shall be no game laws; that the farmer on whose lands wild game shall be found (for it is by the produce of those lands they are fed) shall have a right to what he can take. That there shall be no monopolies of any kind---that all trades shall be free, and every man free to follow any occupation by which he can procure an honest livelihood, and in any place, town or city throughout the nation. What will Mr. Burke say to this? In England, game is made the property of those at whose expence it is not fed; and with respect to monopolies, the country is cut up into monopolies. Every chartered town is an aristocratical monopoly in itself, and the qualification of electors proceeds out of those chartered monopolies. Is this freedom? Is this what Mr. Burke means by a constitution?

In these chartered monopolies, a man coming from another part of the country, is hunted from them as if he were a foreign enemy. An Englishman is not free of his own country: every one of those places presents a barrier in his way, and tells him he is not a freeman---that he has no right. Within these monopolies, are other monopolies. In a city, such for
instance

instance as Bath, which contains between twenty and thirty thousand inhabitants, the right of electing representatives to parliament is monopolised into about thirty one persons. And within these monopolies are still others. A man even of the same town, whose parents were not in circumstances to give him an occupation, is debarred, in many cases, from the natural right of acquiring one, be his genius or industry what it may.

Are these things examples to hold out to a country regenerating itself from slavery, like France?---Certainly they are not; and certain am I, that when the people of England come to reflect upon them, they will, like France, annihilate those badges of ancient oppression, those traces of a conquered nation.---Had Mr. Burke possessed talents similar to the author "On the Wealth of Nations," he would have comprehended all the parts which enter into, and, by assemblage, form a constitution. He would have reasoned from minutiae to magnitude. It is not from his prejudices only, but from the disorderly cast of his genius, that he is unfitted for the subject he writes upon. Even his genius is without a constitution. It is a genius at random, and not a genius constituted. But he must say something---He has therefore mounted in the air like a balloon, to draw the eyes of the multitude from the ground they stand upon.

Much is to be learned from the French constitution. Conquest and tyranny transplanted themselves with William the Conqueror from Normandy into England, and the country is yet disfigured with the marks. May then the example of all France contribute to regenerate the freedom which a province of it destroyed!

The French constitution says, That to preserve the national representation from being corrupt, no member of the National Assembly shall be an officer of the government, a place-man, or a pensioner.---What will Mr. Burke place against this? I will whisper his answer : *Loaves and Fishes*. Ah! this government of loaves and fishes has more mischief in it than people have yet reflected on. The National Assembly has made the discovery, and it holds out the example to the world. Had governments agreed to quarrel on purpose to fleece their countries by taxes, they could not have succeeded better than they have done.

Every thing in the English government appears to me the reverse of what it ought to be, and of what it is said to be. The parliament, imperfectly and capriciously elected as it is, is nevertheless *supposed* to hold the national purse in *trust* for the nation: but in the manner in which an English parliament is constructed, it is like a man being both mortgager and mortgagee; and in the case of misapplication of trust, it is the criminal sitting in judgment upon himself. If those who vote the supplies are the same persons who receive the supplies when voted, and are to account for the expenditure of those supplies to those who voted them, it is *themselves accountable to themselves*, and the Comedy of Errors concludes with the Pantomime of HUSH. Neither the ministerial party, nor the opposition, will touch upon this case. The national purse is the common hack which each mounts upon. It is like what the country people call, "Ride and tie---You ride a little way, and then I*."---They order these things better in France.

The French constitution says, that the right of war and peace is in the nation. Where else should it reside, but in those who are to pay the expence?

In England, this right is said to reside in a *metaphor*, shewn at the Tower for sixpence or a shilling a-piece: so are the lions; and it would be a step nearer to reason to say it resided in them, for any inanimate metaphor is no more than a hat or a cap. We can all see the absurdity of worshipping Aaron's molton calf, or Nebuchadnezzar's golden image; but why do men continue to practise in themselves, the absurdities they despise in others?

It may with reason be said, that in the manner the English nation is represented, it signifies not where this right resides, whether in the crown or in the parliament. War is the common harvest of all those who participate in the division and expenditure of public money, in all countries. It is the art of *conquering at home*: the object of it is an increase of revenue; and as revenue cannot be increased without taxes, a pretence must be made for expenditures. In reviewing the history of the English government, its wars and its taxes, a stander-by, not blinded by prejudice, not warped by interest, would declare,

* It is a practice in some parts of the country, when two travellers have but one horse, which like the national purse will not carry double, that the one mounts and rides two or three miles a-head, and then ties the horse to a gate, and walks on. When the second traveller arrives, he takes the horse, rides on, and passes his companion on a mile or two, and ties again; and so on---*Ride and tie.*

clare, that taxes were not raised to carry on wars, but that wars were raised to carry on taxes.

Mr. Burke, as a Member of the House of Commons, is a part of the English government; and though he professes himself an enemy to war, he abuses the French Constitution, which seeks to explode it. He holds up the English government as a model in all its parts, to France; but he should first know the remarks which the French make upon it. They contend, in favour of their own, that the portion of liberty enjoyed in England, is just enough to enslave a country by, more productively than by despotism; and that as the real object of all despotism is revenue, that a government so formed obtains more than it could either by direct despotism, or in a full state of freedom, and is, therefore, on the ground of interest, opposed to both. They account also for the readiness which always appears in such governments for engaging in wars, by remarking on the different motives which produce them. In despotic governments, wars are the effect of pride; but in those governments in which they become the means of taxation, they acquire thereby a more permanent promptitude.

The French Constitution, therefore, to provide against both those evils, has taken away the power of declaring war from kings and ministers, and placed the right where the expence must fall.

When the question on the right of war and peace was agitating in the National Assembly, the people of England appeared to be much interested in the event, and highly to applaud the decision.---As a principle, it applies as much to one country as to another. William the Conqueror, *as a conqueror*, held this power of war and peace in himself, and his descendants have ever since claimed it under him as a right.

Although Mr. Burke has asserted the right of the parliament at the Revolution to bind and controul the nation and posterity for ever, he denies, at the same time, that the parliament or the nation had any right to alter what he calls the succession of the crown, in any thing but in part, or by a sort of modification. By his taking this ground, he throws the case back to the *Norman Conquest*; and by thus running a line of succession springing from William the Conqueror to the present day, he makes it necessary to enquire who and what William the Conqueror was, and where he came from; and
into

into the origin, history, and nature of what are called prerogatives. Every thing must have had a beginning, and the fog of time and antiquity should be penetrated to discover it. Let then Mr. Burke bring forward his William of Normandy, for it is to this origin that his argument goes. It also unfortunately happens, in running this line of succession, that another line, parallel thereto, presents itself, which is, that if the succession runs in the line of the conquest, the nation runs in the line of being conquered, and it ought to rescue itself from this reproach.

But it will perhaps be said, that though the power of declaring war descends in the heritage of the conquest, it is held in check by the right of the parliament to withhold the supplies. It will always happen, when a thing is originally wrong, that amendments do not make it right, and it often happens that they do as much mischief one way as good the other : and such is the case here, for if the one rashly declares war as a matter of right, and the other peremptorily withholds the supplies as a matter of right, the remedy becomes as bad or worse than the disease. The one forces the nation to a combat, and the other ties its hands : But the more probable issue is, that the contrast will end in a collusion between the parties, and be made a screen to both.

On this question of war, three things are to be considered. First, the right of declaring it : Secondly, the expence of supporting it : Thirdly, the mode of conducting it after it is declared. The French constitution places the *right* where the *expence* must fall, and this union can be only in the nation. The mode of conducting it after it is declared, it consigns to the executive department.--Were this the case in all countries, we should hear but little more of wars.

Before I proceed to consider other parts of the French constitution, and by way of relieving the fatigue of argument, I will introduce an anecdote which I had from Dr. Franklin.--

While the Doctor resided in France as minister from America during the war, he had numerous proposals made to him by projectors of every country and of every kind, who wished to go to the land that floweth with milk and honey, America; and among the rest, there was one who offered himself to be King. He introduced his proposal to the Doctor by letter, which is now in the hands of M. Beaumarchais, of Paris--
stating,

stating, first, that as the Americans had dismissed or sent away* their King, that they would want another. Secondly, that himself was a Norman. Thirdly, that he was of a more ancient family than the Dukes of Normandy, and of a more honourable descent, his line having never been bastardized. Fourthly, that there was already a precedent in England, of Kings coming out of Normandy: and on these grounds he rested his offer, *enjoining* that the Doctor would forward it to America. But as the Doctor did not do this, nor yet send him an answer, the projector wrote a second letter; in which he did not, it is true, threaten to go over and conquer America, but only, with great dignity, proposed, that if his offer was not accepted, that an acknowledgment of about £.30,000 might be made to him for his generosity! Now, as all arguments respecting succession must necessarily connect that succession with some beginning, Mr. Burke's arguments on this subject go to shew, that there is no English origin of Kings, and that they are descendants of the Norman line in right of the Conquest. It may therefore, be of service to his doctrine to make this story known, and to inform him, that in case of that natural extinction to which all mortality is subject, that kings may again be had from Normandy, on more reasonable terms than William the Conqueror; and consequently that the good people of England, at the Revolution of 1688, might have done much better, had such a generous Norman as *this* known *their* wants, and they had known *his*. The chivalry character which Mr. Burke so much admires, is certainly much easier to make a bargain with than a hard-dealing Dutchman. But, to return to the matters of the constitution---

The French constitution says, *There shall be no titles*; and of consequence, all that class of equivocal generation, which in some countries is called "*aristocracy*," and in others "*nobility*," is done away, and the *peer* is exalted into MAN.

Titles are but nick-names, and every nick-name is a title. The thing is perfectly harmless in itself, but it marks a sort of foppery in the human character which degrades it. It renders man into the diminutive of man in things which are great, and the counterfeit of woman in things which are little. It talks about its fine *blue ribbon* like a girl, and shews its new

* The word he used was *renvoyé*, dismissed or sent away.

garter like a child. A certain writer of some antiquity, says, "When I was a child, I thought as a child; but when I became a man, I put away childish things."

It is, properly, from the elevated mind of France, that the folly of titles have fallen. It has outgrown the baby-cloths of *Count* and *Duke*, and breeched itself in manhood. France has not levelled; it has exalted. It has put down the dwarf, to set up the man. The punyism of a senseless word like *Duke*, or *Count*, or *Earl* has ceased to please. Even those who possessed them have disowned the gibberish, and, as they outgrew the rickets, have despised the rattle. The genuine mind of man, thirsting for its native home, society, contemns the gewgaws that separate him from it. Titles are like circles drawn by the magician's wand, to contract the sphere of man's felicity. He lives immured within the Bastille of a word, and surveys at a distance the envied life of man.

Is it then any wonder that titles should fall in France? Is it not a greater wonder they should be kept up any where? What are they? What is their worth, and "what is their amount?" When we think or speak of a *Judge* or a *General*, we associate with it the ideas of office and character; we think of gravity in the one, and bravery in the other: but when we use a word merely as a *title*, no ideas associate with it. Through all the vocabulary of Adam, there is not such an animal as a *Duke* or a *Count*; neither can we connect any certain idea to the words. Whether they mean strength or weakness, wisdom or folly, a child or a man, or the rider or the horse, is all equivocal. What respect then can be paid to that which describes nothing, and which means nothing? Imagination has given figure and character to centaurs, satyrs, and down to all the fairy tribe; but titles baffle even the powers of fancy, and are a chimerical non-descript.

But this is not all.---If a whole country is disposed to hold them in contempt, all their value is gone, and none will own them. It is common opinion only that makes them any thing or nothing, or worse than nothing. There is no occasion to take titles away, for they take themselves away when society concurs to ridicule them. This species of imaginary consequence has visibly declined in every part of Europe, and it hastens to its exit as the world of reason continues to rise.

There was a time when the lowest class of what are called nobility was more thought of than the highest is now, and when a man in armour riding throughout Christendom in quest of adventures was more stared at than a modern Duke. The world has seen this folly fall, and it has fallen by being laughed at, and the farce of titles will follow its fate. The patriots of France have discovered in good time, that rank and dignity in society must take a new ground. The old one has fallen through. It must now take the substantial ground of character, instead of the chimerical ground of titles; and they have brought their titles to the altar, and made of them a burnt-offering to reason.

If no mischief had annexed itself to the folly of titles, they would not have been worth a serious and formal destruction, such as the National Assembly have decreed them; and this makes it necessary to enquire further into the nature and character of aristocracy.

That, then, which is called aristocracy in some countries, and nobility in others, arose out of the governments founded upon conquest. It was originally a military order for the purpose of supporting military government (for such were all governments founded in conquest); and to keep up a succession of this order for the purpose for which it was established, all the younger branches of those families were disinherited, and the law of *primogeniture* set up.

The nature and character of aristocracy shews itself to us in this law. It is a law against every law of nature, and Nature herself calls for its destruction. Establish family justice, and aristocracy falls. By the aristocratical law of primogeniture, in a family of six children, five are exposed.---Aristocracy has never but *one* child. The rest are begotten to be devoured. They are thrown to the cannibal for prey, and the natural parent prepares the unnatural repast.

As every thing which is out of nature in man, affects, more or less, the interest of society, so does this. All the children which the aristocracy disowns (which are all, except the eldest) are, in general, cast like orphans on a parish, to be provided for by the public, but at a greater charge. Unnecessary offices and places in governments and courts are created at the expence of the public, to maintain them.

With

With what kind of parental reflections can the father or mother contemplate their younger offspring. By nature they are children, and by marriage they are heirs ; but by aristocracy they are bastards and orphans. They are the flesh and blood of their parents in one line, and nothing akin to them in the other. To restore, therefore, parents to their children, and children to their parents---relations to each other, and man to society---and to exterminate the monster Aristocracy, root and branch---the French constitution has destroyed the law of PRIMOGENITURESHIP. Here then lies the monster; and Mr. Burke, if he pleases, may write its epitaph.

Hitherto we have considered aristocracy chiefly in one point of view. We have now to consider it in another. But whether we view it before or behind, or side-ways, or any way else, domestically or publicly, it is still a monster.

In France, aristocracy had one feature less in its countenance than what it has in some other countries. It did not compose a body of hereditary legislators. It was not "*a corporation of aristocracy*," for such I have heard M. de la Fayette describe an English House of Peers. Let us then examine the grounds upon which the French constitution has resolved against having such an House in France.

Because, in the first place, as is already mentioned, aristocracy is kept up by family tyranny and injustice.

Secondly, Because there is an unnatural unfitness in an aristocracy to be legislators for a nation. Their ideas of *distributive justice* are corrupted at the very source. They begin life by trampling on all their younger brothers and sisters, and relations of every kind, and are taught and educated so to do. With what ideas of justice or honor can that man enter an house of legislation, who absorbs in his own person the inheritance of a whole family of children, or doles out to them some pitiful portion with the insolence of a gift?

Thirdly, Because the idea of hereditary legislators is as inconsistent as that of hereditary judges, or hereditary juries; and as absurd as an hereditary mathematician, or an hereditary wise man; and as ridiculous as an hereditary poet-laureat.

Fourthly, Because a body of men holding themselves accountable to nobody, ought not to be trusted by any body.

Fifthly, Because it is continuing the uncivilized principle of governments founded in conquest, and the base idea of man having property in man, and governing him by personal right.

Sixthly, Because aristocracy has a tendency to degenerate the human species. By the universal œconomy of nature it is known, and by the instance of the Jews it is proved, that the human species has a tendency to degenerate, in any small number of persons, when separated from the general stock of society, and intermarrying constantly with each other. It defeats even its pretended end, and becomes in time the opposite of what is noble in man. Mr. Burke talks of nobility; let him shew what it is. The greatest characters the world have known, have rose on the democratic floor. Aristocracy has not been able to keep a proportionate pace with democracy. The artificial NOBLE shrinks into a dwarf before the NOBLE of Nature; and in the few instances (for there are some in all countries) in whom nature, as by a miracle, has survived in aristocracy, THOSE MEN DESPISE IT. But it is time to proceed to a new subject.

The French constitution has reformed the condition of the clergy. It has raised the income of the lower and middle classes, and taken from the higher. None are now less than twelve hundred livres (fifty pounds sterling) nor any higher than about two or three thousand pounds. What will Mr. Burke place against this? Hear what he says.

He says, "that the people of England can see without pain or grudging, an archbishop precede a duke; they can see a bishop of Durham, or a bishop of Winchester, in possession of £10,000 a-year; and cannot see why it is in worse hands than estates to the like amount in the hands of this earl or that 'squire." And Mr. Burke offers this as an example to France.

As to the first part, whether the archbishop precedes the duke, or the duke the bishop, it is, I believe, to the people in general, somewhat like *Sternhold* and *Hopkins*, or *Hopkins* and *Sternhold*; you may put which you please first: and as I confess that I do not understand the merits of this case, I will not contend it with Mr. Burke.

But with respect to the latter, I have something to say. Mr. Burke has not put the case right. The comparison is out of
order

order by being put between the bishop and the earl or the squire. It ought to be put between the bishop and the curate, and then it will stand thus: *The people of England can see without pain or grudging, a bishop of Durham, or a bishop of Winchester, in possession of ten thousand pounds a-year, and a curate on thirty or forty pounds a-year, or less.* No, Sir, they certainly do not see those things without great pain or grudging. It is a case that applies itself to every man's sense of justice, and is one among many that calls aloud for a constitution.

In France, the cry of "*the church! the church!*" was repeated as often as in Mr. Burke's book, and as loudly as when the dissenters' bill was before the English parliament; but the generality of the French clergy were not to be deceived by this cry any longer. They knew, that whatever the pretence might be, it was themselves who were one of the principal objects of it. It was the cry of the high beneficed clergy, to prevent any regulation of income taking place between those of ten thousand pounds a year and the parish priest. They, therefore, joined their case to those of every other oppressed class of men, and by this union obtained redress.

The French constitution has abolished tythes, that source of perpetual discontent between the tythe-holder and the parishioner. When land is held on tythe, it is in the condition of an estate held between two parties; the one receiving one tenth, and the other nine tenths of the produce: and, consequently, on principles of equity, if the estate can be improved, and made to produce by that improvement double or treble what it did before, or in any other ratio, the expence of such improvement ought to be borne in like proportion between the parties who are to share the produce. But this is not the case in tythes; the farmer bears the whole expence, and the tythe-holder takes a tenth of the improvement, in addition to the original tenth, and by this means gets the value of two-tenths instead of one. This is another case that calls for a constitution.

The French constitution hath abolished or renounced *Toleration*, and *Intoleration* also, and hath established UNIVERSAL RIGHT OF CONSCIENCE.

Toleration is not the *opposite* of Intoleration, but is the *counterfeit* of it. Both are despotisms. The one assumes to itself the right of with-holding Liberty of Conscience, and the other

other of granting it. The one is the pope, armed with fire and faggot, and the other is the pope selling or granting indulgences. The former is church and state, and the latter is church and traffic.

But Toleration may be viewed in a much stronger light. Man worships not himself, but his Maker; and the liberty of conscience which he claims, is not for the service of himself, but of his God. In this case, therefore, we must necessarily have the associated idea of two beings; the *mortal* who renders the worship, and the IMMORTAL BEING who is worshipped. Toleration, therefore, places itself, not between man and man, nor between church and church, nor between one denomination of religion and another, but between God and man; between the being who worships, and the BEING who is worshipped; and by the same act of assumed authority by which it tolerates man to pay his worship, it presumptuously and blasphemously sets itself up to tolerate the Almighty to receive it.

Were a Bill brought into any parliament, entitled "An ACT " to tolerate or grant liberty to the Almighty to receive the " worship of a Jew or a Turk," or " to prohibit the Almighty from receiving it:" all men would startle, and call it blasphemy. There would be an uproar. The presumption of toleration in religious matters would then present itself unmasked: but the presumption is not the less because the name of " Man" only appears to those laws, for the associated idea of the *worshipper* and the *worshipped* cannot be separated.---Who, then, art thou, vain dust and ashes! by whatever name thou art called, whether a King, a Bishop, a Church or a State, a Parliament or any thing else, that obtrudest thine insignificance between the soul of man and its Maker? Mind thine own concerns. If he believes not as thou believest, it is a proof that thou believest not as he believeth, and there is no earthly power can determine between you.

With respect to what are called denominations of religion, if every one is left to judge of its own religion, there is no such thing as a religion that is wrong; but if they are to judge of each others religion, there is no such thing as a religion that is right; and therefore, all the world are right, or all the world are wrong. But with respect to religion itself, without regard to names, and as directing itself from the universal family of mankind

mankind to the Divine object of all adoration, *it is man bringing to his Maker the fruits of his heart*; and though those fruits may differ from each other like the fruits of the earth, the grateful tribute of every one is accepted.

A Bishop of Durham, or a Bishop of Winchester, or the Archbishop who heads the Dukes, will not refuse a tythesheaf of wheat, because it is not a cock of hay; nor a cock of hay, because it is not a sheaf of wheat; nor a pig, because it is neither the one nor the other: but these same persons, under the figure of an established church, will not permit their Maker to receive the varied tithes of man's devotion.

One of the continual choruses of Mr. Burke's book is, "Church and State:" he does not mean some one particular church, or some one particular state, but any church and state; and he uses the term as a general figure to hold forth the political doctrine of always uniting the church with the state in every country, and he censures the National Assembly for not having done this in France. Let us bestow a few thoughts on this subject.

All religions are in their nature mild and benign, and united with principles of morality. They could not have made profelytes at first, by professing any thing that was vicious, cruel, persecuting, or immoral. Like every thing else, they had their beginning; and they proceeded by persuasion, exhortation, and example. How then is it that they lose their native mildness, and become morose and intolerant?

It proceeds from the connection which Mr. Burke recommends. By engendering the church with the state, a sort of mule animal, capable only of destroying, and not of breeding up, is produced, called *The Church established by Law*. It is a stranger, even from its birth, to any parent mother on which it is begotten, and whom in time it kicks out and destroys.

The inquisition in Spain does not proceed from the religion originally professed, but from this mule animal, engendered between the church and the state. The burnings in Smithfield proceeded from the same heterogeneous production; and it was the regeneration of this strange animal in England afterwards, that renewed rancour and irreligion among the inhabitants, and that drove the people called Quakers and Dissenters to America. Persecution is not an original feature in any religion; but it is always the strongly-marked feature of all law-

law-religions, or religions established by law. Take away the law-establishment, and every religion re-assumes its original benignity. In America, a Catholic Priest is a good citizen, a good character, and a good neighbour; an Episcopalian Minister is of the same description: and this proceeds, independent of the men, from there being no law establishment in America.

If also we view this matter in a temporal sense, we shall see the ill effects it has had on the prosperity of nations. The union of church and state has impoverished Spain. The revoking the edict of Nantz drove the silk manufacture from that country into England; and church and state are now driving the cotton manufacture from England to America and France. Let then Mr Burke continue to preach his anti-political doctrine of Church and State. It will do some good. The National Assembly will not follow his advice, but will benefit by his folly. It was by observing the ill effects of it in England, that America has been warned against it; and it is by experiencing them in France, that the National Assembly have abolished it, and, like America, has established **UNIVERSAL RIGHT OF CONSCIENCE, AND UNIVERSAL RIGHT OF CITIZENSHIP***.

I will

* When in any country we see extraordinary circumstances taking place, they naturally lead any man who has a talent for observation and investigation, to enquire into the causes. The manufactures of Manchester, Birmingham, and Sheffield, are the most principal manufactures in England. From whence did this arise? A little observation will explain the cause. The principal, and the generality of the inhabitants of those places, are not of what is called in England, *the church established by law*; and they, or their fathers, (for it is within but a few years), withdrew from the persecution of the chartered towns, where Test-laws more particularly operate, and established a sort of asylum for themselves in those places. It was the only asylum that then offered, for the rest of Europe was worse. But the case is now changing. France and America bid all comers welcome, and initiate them into all the rights of citizenship. Policy and interest, therefore, will, but perhaps too late, dictate in England, what reason and justice could not. Those manufactures are withdrawing, and are arising in other places. There is now erecting at Passley, three miles from Paris, a large cotton mill, and several are already erected in America. Soon after the rejecting the Bill for repealing the Test-law, one of the richest manufacturers in England said in my hearing, "England, Sir, is not a country for a dissenter to live in---we must go to France." These are truths, and it is doing justice to both parties to tell them. It is chiefly the dissenters that have carried English manufactures to the height they are now at, and the same men have it in their power to carry them away; and though those manufactures would afterwards continue to be made in those places, the foreign market will be lost. There are frequently appearing in the London Gazette, extracts from certain acts to prevent machines, and as far as it can extend to persons, from going out of the country. It appears from these, that the ill effects of the test-laws and church-establishment begin to be much suspected; but the remedy of force can never supply the remedy of reason. In the progress of less than a century, all the unrepresented part of England, of all denominations, which is at least a hundred times the most numerous, may begin to feel the necessity of a constitution, and then all those matters will come regularly before them.

I will here cease the comparison with respect to the principles of the French constitution, and conclude this part of the subject with a few observations on the organization of the formal parts of the French and English governments.

The executive power in each country is in the hands of a person stiled, the King; but the French constitution distinguishes between the King and the Sovereign: It considers the station of King as official, and places Sovereignty in the nation.

The representatives of the nation, which compose the National Assembly, and who are the legislative power, originate in and from the people by election, as an inherent right in the people. In England it is otherwise; and this arises from the original establishment of what is called its monarchy; for, as by the conquest all the rights of the people or the nation were absorbed into the hands of the Conqueror, and who added the title of King to that of Conqueror, those same matters which in France are now held as rights in the people, or in the nation, are held in England as grants from what is called the Crown. The Parliament in England, in both its branches, were erected by patents from the descendants of the Conqueror. The House of Commons did not originate as a matter of right in the people to delegate or elect, but as a grant or boon.

By the French constitution, the Nation is always named before the King. The third article of the Declaration of rights says, "*The nation is essentially the source (or fountain) of all sovereignty.*" Mr. Burke argues, that, in England, a King is the fountain---that he is the fountain of all honour. But as this idea is evidently descended from the conquest, I shall make no other remark upon it than that it is the nature of conquest to turn every thing upside down; and as Mr. Burke will not be refused the privilege of speaking twice, and as there are but two parts in the figure, the *fountain* and the *spout*, he will be right the second time.

The French constitution puts the legislative before the executive; the Law before the King; *La Loi, Le Roi*. This also is in the natural order of things; because laws must have existence, before they can have execution.

A King in France does not, in addressing himself to the National Assembly, say, "My assembly," similar to the phrase used in England of "*my Parliament*"; neither can he use it

consistent with the constitution, nor could it be admitted. There may be propriety in the use of it in England, because, as is before mentioned, both Houses of Parliament originated out of what is called the Crown, by patent or boon---and not out of the inherent rights of the people, as the National Assembly does in France, and whose name designates its origin.

The President of the National Assembly does not ask the King *to grant to the Assembly liberty of speech*, as is the case with the English House of Commons. The constitutional dignity of the National Assembly cannot debase itself. Speech is, in the first place, one of the natural rights of man always retained ; and with respect to the National Assembly, the use of it is their *duty*, and the nation is their *authority*. They were elected by the greatest body of men exercising the right of election the European world ever saw. They sprung not from the filth of rotten boroughs, nor are they the vassal representatives of aristocratical ones. Feeling the proper dignity of their character, they support it. Their parliamentary language, whether for or against a question, is free, bold, and manly, and extends to all the parts and circumstances of the case. If any matter or subject respecting the executive department, or the person who presides in it, (the King,) comes before them, it is debated on with the spirit of men, and the language of gentlemen ; and their answer, or their address, is returned in the same style. They stand not aloof with the gaping vacuity of vulgar ignorance, nor bend with the cringe of sycophantic insignificance. The graceful pride of truth knows no extremes, and preserves, in every latitude of life, the right-angled character of man.

Let us now look to the other side of the question. In the addresses of the English Parliaments to their Kings, we see neither the intrepid spirit of the old Parliaments of France, nor the serene dignity of the present National Assembly ; neither do we see in them any thing of the style of English manners, which borders somewhat on bluntness. Since then they are neither of foreign extraction, nor naturally of English production, their origin must be sought for elsewhere, and that origin is the Norman Conquest. They are evidently of the vassalage class of manners, and emphatically mark the prostrate distance that exists in no other condition of men than between the conqueror and the conquered. That this vassalage idea and style of speaking was not got rid of even at the Revolution

volution of 1688, is evident from the declaration of Parliament to William and Mary, in these words: "We do most humbly and faithfully *submit* ourselves, our heirs and posterities, for ever." Submission is wholly a vassalage term, repugnant to the dignity of Freedom, and an echo of the language used at the Conquest.

As the estimation of all things is by comparison, the Revolution of 1688, however from circumstances it may have been exalted beyond its value, will find its level. It is already on the wane, eclipsed by the enlarging orb of reason, and the luminous revolutions of America and France. In less than another century, it will go, as well as Mr Burke's labours, "to the family vault of all the Capulets." Mankind will then scarcely believe that a country calling itself free, would send to Holland for a man, and clothe him with power on purpose to put themselves in fear of him, and give him almost a million sterling a-year for leave to *submit* themselves and their posterity, like bond-men and bond-women, for ever.

But there is a truth that ought to be made known: I have had the opportunity of seeing it; which is, *that, notwithstanding appearances, there is not any description of men that despise monarchy so much as courtiers.* But they well know, that if it were seen by others, as it is seen by them, the juggle could not be kept up. They are in the condition of men who get their living by a show, and to whom the folly of that show is so familiar that they ridicule it; but were the audience to be made as wise, in this respect, as themselves, there would be an end to the show and the profits with it. The difference between a republican and a courtier with respect to monarchy is, that the one opposes monarchy believing it to be something, and the other laughs at it knowing it to be nothing.

As I used sometimes to correspond with Mr. Burke, believing him then to be a man of sounder principles than his book shews him to be, I wrote to him last winter from Paris, and gave him an account how prosperously matters were going on. Among other subjects in that letter, I referred to the happy situation the National Assembly were placed in; that they had taken a ground on which their moral duty and their political interest were united. They have not to hold out a language which they do not believe, for the fraudulent purpose of making others believe it. Their station requires no artifice to support

support it, and can only be maintained by enlightening mankind. It is not their interest to cherish ignorance; but to dispel it. They are not in the case of a ministerial or an opposition party in England, who, though they are opposed, are still united to keep up the common mystery. The National Assembly must throw open a magazine of light. It must shew man the proper character of man; and the nearer it can bring him to that standard, the stronger the National Assembly becomes.

In contemplating the French constitution, we see in it a rational order of things. The principles harmonise with the forms, and both with their origin. It may perhaps be said as an excuse for bad forms, that they are nothing more than forms; but this is a mistake. Forms grow out of principles, and operate to continue the principles they grow from. It is impossible to practise a bad form on any thing but a bad principle. It cannot be ingrafted on a good one; and wherever the forms in any government are bad, it is a certain indication that the principles are bad also.

I will here finally close this subject. I began it by remarking that Mr. Burke had *voluntarily* declined going into a comparison of the English and French constitutions. He apologises (in page 241) for not doing it, by saying that he had not time. Mr. Burke's book was upwards of eight months in hand, and is extended to a volume of three hundred and fifty-six pages. As his omission does injury to his cause, his apology makes it worse; and men on the English side the water will begin to consider, whether there is not some radical defect in what is called the English constitution, that made it necessary in Mr. Burke to suppress the comparison, to avoid bringing it into view.

As Mr. Burke has not written on constitutions, so neither has he written on the French revolution. He gives no account of its commencement or its progress. He only expresses his wonder. "It looks," says he, "to me, as if I were in a great crisis, not of the affairs of France alone, but of all Europe, perhaps of more than Europe. All circumstances taken together, the French revolution is the most astonishing that has hitherto happened in the world."

As wise men are astonished at foolish things, and other people at wise ones, I know not on which ground to account for

Mr.

Mr. Burke's astonishment; but certain it is, that he does not understand the French revolution. It has apparently burst forth like a creation from a chaos, but it is no more than the consequence of a mental revolution priorly existing in France. The mind of the nation had changed before hand, and the new order of things has naturally followed the new order of thoughts.--I will here, as concisely as I can, trace out the growth of the French revolution, and mark the circumstances that have contributed to produce it.

The despotism of Louis XIV. united with the gaiety of his Court, and the gaudy ostentation of his character, had so humbled, and at the same time so fascinated the mind of France, that the people appear to have lost all sense of their own dignity in contemplating that of their grand Monarch : and the whole reign of Louis XV. remarkable only for weakness and effeminacy, made no other alteration than that of spreading a sort of lethargy over the nation, from which it shewed no disposition to rise.

The only signs which appeared of the spirit of liberty during those periods, are to be found in the writings of the French philosophers. Montesquieu, president of the Parliament of Bourdeaux, went as far as a writer under a despotic government could well proceed ; and being obliged to divide himself between principle and prudence, his mind often appears under a veil, and we ought to give him credit for more than he has expressed.

Voltaire, who was both the flatterer and the satyrist of despotism, took another line. His forte lay in exposing and ridiculing the superstitions which priest-craft united with state-craft had interwoven with governments. It was not from the purity of his principles, or his love of mankind, (for satire and philanthropy are not naturally concordant), but from his strong capacity of seeing folly in its true shape, and his irresistible propensity to expose it, that he made those attacks. They were however as formidable as if the motives had been virtuous ; and he merits the thanks rather than the esteem of mankind.

On the contrary, we find in the writings of Rousseau, and the Abbé Raynal, a loveliness of sentiment in favour of Liberty, that excites respect, and elevates, the human faculties ; but having

ving raised this animation, they do not direct its operations and leave the mind in love with an object, without describing the means of possessing it.

The writings of Quisne, Turgot, and the friends of those authors, are of the serious kind; but they laboured under the same disadvantage with Montesquieu; their writings abound with moral maxims of government, but are rather directed to œconomise and reform the administration of the government, than the government itself.

But all those writings and many others had their weight; and by the different manner in which they treated the subject of government, Montesquieu by his judgment and knowledge of laws, Voltaire by his wit, Rousseau and Raynal by their animation, and Quisne and Turgot by their moral maxims and systems of œconomy, readers of every class met with something to their taste, and a spirit of political enquiry began to diffuse itself through the nation at the time the dispute between England and the then colonies of America broke out.

In the war which France afterwards engaged in, it is very well known that the nation appeared to be before hand with the French ministry. Each of them had its view: but those views were directed to different objects; the one sought liberty, and the other retaliation on England. The French officers and soldiers who after this went to America, were eventually placed in the school of Freedom, and learned the practice as well as the principles of it by heart.

As it was impossible to separate the military events which took place in America from the principles of the American revolution, the publication of those events in France necessarily connected themselves with the principles that produced them. Many of the facts were in themselves principles; such as the declaration of American independence, and the treaty of alliance between France and America, which recognised the natural right of man, and justified resistance to oppression.

The then Minister of France, Count Vergennes, was not the friend of America; and it is both justice and gratitude to say, that it was the Queen of France who gave the cause of America a fashion at the French Court. Count Vergennes was the personal and social friend of Dr. Franklin; and the Doctor had obtained, by his sensible gracefulness, a sort of influence over him; but with respect to principles, Count Vergennes was a despot.

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The situation of Dr. Franklin as Minister from America to France should be taken into the chain of circumstance. The diplomatic character is of itself the narrowest sphere of society that man can act in. It forbids intercourse by a reciprocity of suspicion; and the Diplomatic is a sort of unconnected atom, continually repelling and repelled. But this was not the case with Dr. Franklin. He was not the diplomatic of a Court, but of MAN. His character as a philosopher had been long established, and his circle of society in France was universal.

Count Vergennes resisted for a considerable time the publication of the American constitutions in France, translated to the French language; but even in this he was obliged to give way to public opinion, and a sort of propriety in admitting to appear what he had undertaken to defend. The American constitutions were to liberty, what a grammar is to language: they define its parts of speech, and practically construct them into syntax.

The peculiar situation of the then Marquis de la Fayette is another link in the great chain. He served in America as an American officer under a commission of Congress, and by the universality of his acquaintance, was in close friendship with the civil government of America, as well as with the military line. He spoke the language of the country, entered into the discussions on the principles of government, and was always a welcome friend at any election.

When the war closed, a vast reinforcement to the cause of Liberty spread itself over France, by the return of the French officers and soldiers. A knowledge of the practice was then joined to the theory; and all that was wanting to give it real existence, was opportunity. Man cannot, properly speaking, make circumstances for his purpose, but he always has it in his power to improve them when they occur; and this was the case in France.

M. Neckar was displaced in May 1781; and by the ill-management of the finances afterwards, and particularly during the extravagant administration of M. Calonne, the revenue of France, which was nearly twenty-four millions sterling *per* year, was become unequal to the expenditures, not because the revenue had decreased, but because the expences had increased; and this was the circumstance which the nation laid hold of to bring forward a revolution. The English Minister,
Mr. Pitt,

Mr. Pitt, has frequently alluded to the state of the French finances in his budgets, without understanding the subject. Had the French Parliaments been as ready to register edicts for new taxes, as an English parliament is to grant them, there had been no derangement in the finances, nor yet any revolution: but this will better explain itself as I proceed.

It will be necessary here to shew how taxes were formerly raised in France. The King, or rather the Court or Ministry acting under the use of that name, framed the edicts for taxes at their own discretion, and sent them to the Parliaments to be registered; for until they were registered by the Parliaments, they were not operative. Disputes had long existed between the Court and the Parliament with respect to the extent of the Parliament's authority on this head. The Court insisted that the authority of Parliament went no further than to remonstrate or shew reasons against the tax, reserving to itself the right of determining whether the reasons were well or ill-founded; and in consequence thereof, either to withdraw the edict as a matter of choice, or to *order* it to be enregistered as a matter of authority. The Parliaments on their part insisted, that they had not only a right to remonstrate, but to reject; and on this ground they were always supported by the nation.

But, to return to the order of my narrative---M. Calonne wanted money; and as he knew the sturdy disposition of the Parliaments with respect to new taxes, he ingeniously sought either to approach them by a more gentle means than that of direct authority, or to get over their heads by a manoeuvre: and, for this purpose, he revived the project of assembling a body of men from the several provinces, under the stile of an "Assembly of the Notables," or Men of Note, who met in 1787, and who were either to recommend taxes to the Parliaments, or to act as a Parliament themselves. An Assembly under this name had been called in 1617.

As we are to view this as the first practical step towards the revolution, it will be proper to enter into some particulars respecting it. The Assembly of the Notables has in some places been mistaken for the States-General, but was wholly a different body; the States-General being always by election. The persons who composed the Assembly of the Notables were all nominated by the King, and consisted of one hundred and forty members. But as M. Calonne could not depend upon
a majority

a majority of this Assembly in his favour, he very ingeniously arranged them in such a manner as to make forty-four a majority of one hundred and forty : to effect this, he disposed of them into seven separate committees, of twenty members each. Every general question was to be decided, not by a majority of persons, but by a majority of committees ; and as eleven votes would make a majority in a committee, and four committees a majority of seven, M. Calonne had good reason to conclude, that as forty-four would determine any general question, he could not be out-voted. But all his plans deceived him, and in the event became his overthrow.

The then Marquis de la Fayette was placed in the second committee, of which Count D'Artois was President : and as money-matters was the object, it naturally brought into view every circumstance connected with it. M. de la Fayette made a verbal charge against Calonne, for selling crown lands to the amount of two millions of livres, in a manner that appeared to be unknown to the King. The Count D'Artois (as if to intimidate, for the Bastille was then in being) asked the Marquis, if he would render the charge in writing ? He replied, that he would. The Count D'Artois did not demand it, but brought a message from the King to that purport. M. de la Fayette then delivered in his charge in writing, to be given to the King, undertaking to support it. No farther proceedings were had upon this affair ; But M. Calonne was soon after dismissed by the King, and set off to England.

As M. de la Fayette from the experience he had seen in America, was better acquainted with the science of civil government than the generality of the members who composed the Assembly of the Notables could then be, the brunt of the business fell considerably to his share. The plan of those who had a constitution in view, was to contend with the Court on the ground of taxes, and some of them openly professed their object. Disputes frequently arose between Count D'Artois and M. de la Fayette, upon various subjects. With respect to the arrears already incurred, the latter proposed to remedy them, by accommodating the expences to the revenue, instead of the revenue to the expences ; and as objects of reform, he proposed to abolish the Bastille, and all the State-prisons throughout the nation, (the keeping of which were attended with great expence), and to suppress *Lettres de Cachet* ; But those

matters were not then much attended to; and with respect to *Lettres de Cachet*, a majority of the Nobles appeared to be in favour of them.

On the subject of supplying the Treasury by new taxes, the Assembly declined taking the matter on themselves, concurring in the opinion that they had not authority. In a debate on this subject, M. de la Fayette said, that raising money by taxes could only be done by a National Assembly, freely elected by the people, and acting as their representatives. Do you mean, said the Count D'Artois, the *States General*? M. de la Fayette replied, that he did. Will you, said the Count D'Artois, sign what you say, to be given to the King? The other replied, that he not only would do this, but that he would go farther, and say, that the effectual mode would be, for the King to agree to the establishment of a constitution.

As one of the plans had thus failed, that of getting the Assembly to act as a Parliament, the other came into view, that of recommending. On this subject, the Assembly agreed to recommend two new taxes to be enregistered by the Parliament, the one a stamp-tax, and the other a territorial tax, or sort of land-tax. The two have been estimated at about five millions Sterl. *per ann.* We have now to turn our attention to the Parliaments, on whom the business was again devolving.

The Archbishop of Thoulouse (since Archbishop of Sens, and now a Cardinal) was appointed to the administration of the finances, soon after the dismissal of Calonne. He was also made Prime Minister, an office that did not always exist in France. When this office did not exist, the Chief of each of the principal departments transacted business immediately with the King; but when a Prime Minister was appointed, they did business only with him. The Archbishop arrived to more State-authority than any Minister since the Duke de Choiseul, and the nation was strongly disposed in his favour; but by a line of conduct scarcely to be accounted for, he perverted every opportunity, turned out a despot, and sunk into disgrace, and a Cardinal.

The Assembly of the Notables having broke up, the new Minister sent the edicts for the two new taxes recommended by the Assembly to the Parliaments, to be enregistered. They of course came first before the Parliament of Paris, who returned

for answer, *That with such a revenue as the Nation then supported, the name of taxes ought not to be mentioned, but for the purpose of reducing them*; and threw both the edicts out*.

On this refusal, the Parliament was ordered to Versailles, where, in the usual form, the King held, what under the old government was called a Bed of Justice; and the two edicts were enregistered in presence of the Parliament, by an order of State, in the manner mentioned in page 90. On this, the Parliament immediately returned to Paris, renewed their session in form, and ordered the enregistering to be struck out, declaring that every thing done at Versailles was illegal. All the members of Parliament were then served with Lettres de Cachet, and exiled to Trois; but as they continued as inflexible in exile as before, and as vengeance did not supply the place of taxes, they were after a short time recalled to Paris.

The edicts were again tendered to them, and the Count D'Artois undertook to act as representative for the King. For this purpose, he came from Versailles to Paris, in a train of procession; and the Parliament were assembled to receive him. But show and parade had lost their influence in France; and whatever ideas of importance he might set off with, he had to return with those of mortification and disappointment. On alighting from his carriage to ascend the steps of the Parliament House, the crowd (which was numerously collected) threw out trite expressions, saying, "this is Monsieur D'Artois, who wants more of our money to spend." The marked disapprobation which he saw, impressed him with apprehensions; and the word *Aux armes* (*To arms*) was given out by the officer of the guard who attended him. It was so loudly vociferated, that it echoed through the avenues of the House, and produced a temporary confusion: I was then standing in one of the apartments through which he had to pass, and could not avoid reflecting how wretched was the condition of a disrespected man.

He endeavoured to impress the Parliament by great words, and opened his authority by saying, "The King, our Lord and Master." The Parliament received him very coolly, and with their usual determination not to register the taxes: and in this manner the interview ended.

After

* When the English Minister, Mr. Pitt, mentions the French finances again in the English Parliament, it would be well that he noticed this as an example.

After this a new subject took place: In the various debates and contests that arose between the Court and the Parliaments on the subject of taxes, the Parliament of Paris at last declared, that although it had been customary for Parliaments to enregister edicts for taxes as a matter of convenience, the right belonged only to the *States-General*; and that, therefore, the Parliament could no longer with propriety continue to debate on what it had not authority to act. The King after this came to Paris, and held a meeting with the Parliament, in which he continued from ten in the morning till about six in the evening; and, in a manner that appeared to proceed from him, as if unconsulted upon with the cabinet or the ministry, gave his word to the Parliament, that the *States-General* should be convened.

But after this another scene arose, on a ground different from all the former. The minister and the cabinet were averse to calling the *States-General*: They well knew, that if the *States-General* were assembled, that themselves must fall; and as the King had not mentioned *any time*, they hit on a project calculated to elude, without appearing to oppose.

For this purpose, the Court set about making a sort of Constitution itself: It was principally the work of M. Lamoignon, Keeper of the Seals, who afterwards shot himself. This new arrangement consisted in establishing a body under the name of a *Cour pléniere*, or full Court, in which were invested all the powers that the government might have occasion to make use of. The persons composing this Court were to be nominated by the King; the contended right of taxation was given up on the part of the King, and a new criminal code of laws, and law proceedings, was substituted in room of the former. The thing, in many points, contained better principles than those upon which the government had hitherto been administered: but with respect to the *Cour pléniere*, it was no other than a medium through which despotism was to pass, without appearing to act directly from itself.

The Cabinet had high expectations from their new contrivance. The persons who were to compose the *Cour pléniere*, were already nominated; and as it was necessary to carry a fair appearance, many of the best characters in the nation were appointed among the number. It was to commence on the

8th of May 1788: But an opposition arose to it, on two grounds---the one as to Principle, the other as to Form.

On the ground of principle it was contended, That government had not a right to alter itself; and that if the practice was once admitted, it would grow into a principle, and be made a precedent for any future alterations the government might wish to establish: that the the right of altering the government was a national right, and not a right of government. And on the ground of Form, it was contended, that the *Cour plénier*e was nothing more than a larger Cabinet.

The then Duke de la Rouchefoucault, Luxembourg, De Noailles, and many others, refused to accept the nomination, and strenuously opposed the whole plan. When the edict for establishing this new Court was sent to the Parliaments to be enregistered, and put into execution, they resisted also. The Parliament of Paris not only refused, but denied the authority; and the contest renewed itself between the Parliament and the Cabinet more strongly than ever. While the Parliament were sitting in debate on this subject, the Ministry ordered a regiment of soldiers to surround the House, and form a blockade. The Members sent out for beds and provision, and lived as in a besieged citadel; and as this had no effect, the commanding officer was ordered to enter the Parliament House and seize them, which he did, and some of the principal members were shut up in different prisons. About the same time a deputation of persons arrived from the province of Brittany, to remonstrate against the establishment of the *Cour plénier*e; and those the Archbishop sent to the Bastille. But the spirit of the Nation was not to be overcome; and it was so fully sensible of the strong ground it had taken, that of withholding taxes, that it contented itself with keeping up a sort of quiet resistance, which effectually overthrew all the plans at that time formed against it. The project of the *Cour plénier*e was at last obliged to be given up, and the Prime Minister not long afterwards followed its fate; and M. Neckar was recalled into office.

The attempt to establish the *Cour plénier*e had an effect upon the Nation, which itself did not perceive. It was a sort of new form of government, that insensibly served to put the old one out of sight, and to unhinge it from the superstitious authority

thority of antiquity. It was government dethroning government; and the old one, by attempting to make a new one, made a chasm.

The failure of this scheme renewed the subject of convening the States-General; and this gave rise to a new series of politics. There was no settled form for convening the States-General: all that it positively meant, was a deputation from what was then called the Clergy, the Noblesse, and the Commons; but their numbers, or their proportions, had not been always the same. They had been convened only on extraordinary occasions, the last of which was in 1614; their numbers were then in equal proportions, and they voted by orders.

It could not well escape the sagacity of M. Neckar, that the mode of 1614 would answer neither the purpose of the then government, nor of the nation. As matters were at that time circumstanced, it would have been too contentious to agree upon any thing. The debates would have been endless upon privileges and exemptions, in which neither the wants of the government, nor the wishes of the nation for a constitution, would have been attended to. But as he did not chuse to take the decision upon himself, he summoned again the *Assembly of the Notables*, and referred it to them. This body was in general interested in the decision, being chiefly of the aristocracy and the high-paid clergy; and they decided in favor of the mode of 1614. This decision was against the sense of the Nation, and also against the wishes of the Court; for the aristocracy opposed itself to both, and contended for privileges independent of either. The subject was then taken up by the Parliament, who recommended that the number of the Commons should be equal to the other two; and that they should all sit in one house, and vote in one body. The number finally determined on was twelve hundred: six hundred to be chosen by the Commons, (and this was less than their proportion ought to have been when their worth and consequence is considered on a national scale) three hundred by the clergy, and three hundred by the aristocracy; but with respect to the mode of assembling themselves, whether together or apart, or the manner in which they should vote, those matters were referred*.

The

* Mr. Burke (and I must take the liberty of telling him he is very unacquainted with French affairs), speaking upon this subject, says, "The first thing that struck

The election that followed, was not a contested election, but an animated one. The candidates were not men, but principles. Societies were formed in Paris, and committees of correspondence and communication established throughout the nation, for the purpose of enlightening the people, and explaining to them the principles of civil government; and so orderly was the election conducted, that it did not give rise even to the rumour of tumult.

The States-General were to meet at Versailles in April 1789, but did not assemble till May. They situated themselves in three separate chambers, or rather the clergy and the aristocracy withdrew each into a separate chamber. This majority of the aristocracy claimed what they called the privilege of voting as a separate body, and of giving their consent or their negative in that manner; and many of the bishops and the high-beneficed clergy claimed the same privilege on the part of their order.

The *Tiers Etat* (as they were then called) disowned any knowledge of artificial orders and artificial privileges; and they were not only resolute on this point, but somewhat disdainful. They began to consider aristocracy as a kind of fungus growing out of the corruption of society, that could not be admitted even as a branch of it; and from the disposition the aristocracy had shewn by upholding *Lettres de Cachet*, and in sundry other instances, it was manifest that no constitution could be formed by admitting men in any other character than as National men. After

me in the calling the States-General, was a great departure from the ancient course;" and he soon after says, "From the moment I read the list, I saw distinctly, and very nearly as it has happened, all that was to follow." Mr. Burke certainly did not see all that was to follow. I have endeavoured to impress him, as well before as after the States-General met, that there would be a *revolution*; but was not able to make him see it, neither would he believe it. How then could he distinctly see all the parts, when the whole was out of sight, is beyond my comprehension. And with respect to the "departure from the ancient course," besides the natural weakness of the remark, it shews that he is unacquainted with circumstances. The departure was necessary, from the experience had upon it, that the ancient course was a bad one. The States-General of 1614 were called at the commencement of the civil war in the minority of Louis XIII; but by the clash of arranging them by orders, they increased the confusion they were called to compose. The author of *L'Intrigue du Cabinet* (Intrigue of the Cabinet), who wrote before any revolution was thought of in France, speaking of the States-General of 1614, says, "They held the public in suspense five months; and by the questions agitated therein, and the heat with which they were put, it appears that the great (*les grands*) thought more to satisfy their *particular* passions, than to procure the good of the nation; and the whole time passed away in altercations, ceremonies, and parade." *L'Intrigue du Cabinet*, Vol. I. p. 229.

After various altercations on this head, the Tiers Etat or Commons (as they were then called) declared themselves (on a motion made for that purpose by the Abbe Sieyes) “ THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE NATION ; and that the two Orders could be considered but as deputies of corporations, and could only have a deliberative voice but when they assembled in a national character with the national representatives.” This proceeding extinguished the stile of *Etats Généraux* or States-General, and erected it into the stile it now bears, that of *L’Assemblée Nationale*, or National Assembly.

This motion was not made in a precipitate manner: It was the result of cool deliberation, and concerted between the national representatives and the patriotic members of the two chambers, who saw into the folly, mischief, and injustice of artificial privileged distinctions. It was become evident, that no constitution, worthy of being called by that name, could be established on any thing less than a national ground. The aristocracy had hitherto opposed the despotism of the Court, and affected the language of patriotism; but it opposed it as its rival, (as the English Barons opposed King John); and it now opposed the nation from the same motives.

On carrying this motion, the national representatives, as had been concerted, sent an invitation to the two chambers, to unite with them in a national character, and proceed to business. A majority of the clergy, chiefly of the parish priests, withdrew from the clerical chamber, and joined the nation; and forty-five from the other chamber joined in like manner. There is a sort of secret history belonging to this last circumstance, which is necessary to its explanation: It was not judged prudent that all the patriotic members of the chamber, styling itself the Nobles, should quit it at once; and in consequence of this arrangement, they drew off by degrees, always leaving some, as well to reason the case, as to watch the suspected. In a little time, the numbers encreased from forty-five to eighty, and soon after to a greater number; which with a majority of the clergy, and the whole of the national representatives, put the mal-contents in a very diminutive condition.

The King, who, very different to the general class called by that name, is a man of a good heart, shewed himself disposed to recommend a union of the three chambers, on the ground

ground the National Assembly had taken; but the mal-contents exerted themselves to prevent it, and began now to have another project in view. Their numbers consisted of a majority of the aristocratical chamber, and a minority of the clerical chamber, chiefly of bishops and high-benificed clergy; and these men were determined to put every thing to issue, as well by strength as by stratagem. They had no objection to a constitution; but it must be such an one as themselves should dictate, and suited to their own views and particular situations. On the other hand, the Nation disowned knowing any thing of them but as citizens, and was determined to shut out all such up-start pretensions. The more aristocracy appeared, the more it was despised; there was a visible imbecillity and want of intellects in the majority, a sort of *je ne sais quoi*, that while it affected to be more than citizen, was less than man. It lost ground from contempt more than from hatred; and was rather jeered at as an ass, than dreaded as a lion. This is the general character of aristocracy, or what are called Nobles or Nobility, or rather No-ability, in all countries.

The plan of the mal-contents consisted now of two things; either to deliberate and vote by chambers, (or orders), more especially on all questions respecting a constitution, (by which the aristocratical chamber would have had a negative on any article of the constitution) or, in case they could not accomplish this object, to overthrow the National Assembly entirely.

To effect one or other of these objects, they began now to cultivate a friendship with the despotism they had hitherto attempted to rival, and the Count D'Artois became their chief. The King (who has since declared himself deceived into their measures) held, according the old form, *a Bed of Justice*, in which he accorded to the deliberation and vote *par tete* (by head) upon several objects; but reserved the deliberation and vote upon all questions respecting a constitution to the three chambers separately. This declaration of the King was made against the advice of M. Neckar, who now began to perceive that he was growing out of fashion at Court, and that another minister was in contemplation.

As the form of sitting in separate chambers was yet apparently kept up, though essentially destroyed, the national representatives, immediately after this declaration of the King, resorted to their own chambers, to consult on a protest against

it; and the minority of the chamber (calling itself the Nobles), who had joined the national cause, retired to a private house, to consult in like manner. The mal-contents had by this time concerted their measures with the Court, which Count D'Artois undertook to conduct; and as they saw, from the discontent which the declaration excited, and the opposition making against it, that they could not obtain a controul over the intended constitution by a separate vote, they prepared themselves for their final object---that of conspiring against the National Assembly, and overthrowing it.

The next morning, the door of the chamber of the National Assembly was shut against them, and guarded by troops; and the members were refused admittance. On this, they withdrew to a tennis-ground in the neighbourhood of Versailles, as the most convenient place they could find, and, after renewing their session, took an oath never to separate from each other, under any circumstance whatever, death excepted, until they had established a constitution. As the experiment of shutting up the house had no other effect than that of producing a closer connection in the Members, it was opened again the next day and the public business recommenced in the usual place.

We now are to have in view the forming of the new Ministry, which was to accomplish the overthrow of the National Assembly. But as force would be necessary, orders were issued to assemble thirty thousand troops, the command of which was given to Broglio, one of the new-intended Ministry, who was recalled from the country for this purpose. But as some management was necessary to keep this plan concealed till the moment it should be ready for execution, it is to this policy that a declaration made by Count D'Artois must be attributed, and which is here proper to be introduced.

It could not but occur, that while the mal-contents continued to resort to their chambers separate from the National Assembly, that more jealousy would be excited than if they were mixed with it, and that the plot might be suspected. But as they had taken their ground, and now wanted a pretence for quitting it, it was necessary that one should be devised. This was effectually accomplished by a declaration made by Count D'Artois, "*That if they took not a part in the National Assembly, the life of the King would be endangered:*" on which they quitted their chambers, and mixed with the Assembly in one body.

At the time this declaration was made, it was generally treated as a piece of absurdity in Count D'Artois, and calculated merely to relieve the outstanding Members of the two chambers from the diminutive situation they were put in; and if nothing more had followed, this conclusion would have been good. But as things best explain themselves by their events, this apparent union was only a cover to the machinations that were secretly going on; and the declaration accommodated itself to answer that purpose. In a little time the National Assembly found itself surrounded by troops, and thousands daily arriving. On this a very strong declaration was made by the National Assembly to the King, remonstrating on the impropriety of the measure, and demanding the reason. The King, who was not in the secret of this business, as himself afterwards declared, gave substantially for answer, that he had no other object in view than to preserve the public tranquillity, which appeared to be much disturbed.

But in a few days from this time, the plot unravelled itself. M. Neckar and the Ministry were displaced, and a new one formed, of the enemies of the Revolution; and Broglio, with between twenty-five and thirty thousand foreign troops, was arrived to support them. The mask was now thrown off, and matters were come to a crisis. The event was, that in the space of three days, the new Ministry and their abettors found it prudent to fly the nation; the Bastille was taken, and Broglio and his foreign troops dispersed; as is already related in the former part of this work.

There are some curious circumstances in the history of this short-lived ministry, and this short-lived attempt at a counter-revolution. The palace of Versailles, where the Court was sitting, was not more than four hundred yards distant from the hall where the National Assembly was sitting. The two places were at this moment like the separate head-quarters of two combatant enemies; yet the Court was as perfectly ignorant of the information which had arrived from Paris to the National Assembly, as if it had resided at an hundred miles distance. The then Marquis de la Fayette, who (as has been already mentioned) was chosen to preside in the National Assembly on this particular occasion, named, by order of the Assembly, three successive deputations to the King, on the day, and up to the evening on which the Bastille was taken, and to in-

form and confer with him on the state of affairs : but the ministry, who knew not so much as that it was attacked, precluded all communication, and were solacing themselves how dexterously they had succeeded ; but in a few hours the accounts arrived so thick and fast, that they had to start from their desks and run. Some set off in one disguise, and some in another, and none in their own character. Their anxiety now was to outride the news lest they should be stoppt, which, though it flew fast, flew not so fast as themselves.

It is worth remarking, that the National Assembly neither pursued those fugitive conspirators, nor took any notice of them, nor sought to retaliate in any shape whatever. Occupied with establishing a constitution founded on the Rights of Man and the authority of the People, the only authority on which government has a right to exist in any country, the National Assembly felt none of those mean passions which mark the character of impertinent governments, founding themselves on their own authority, or on the absurdity of hereditary succession. It is the faculty of the human mind to become what it contemplates, and to act in unison with its object.

The conspiracy being thus dispersed, one of the first works of the National Assembly, instead of vindictive proclamations, as has been the case with other governments, published a declaration of the Rights of Man, as the basis on which the new constitution was to be built, and which is here subjoined.

DECLARATION OF THE RIGHTS OF MAN AND OF CITIZENS,

BY THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF FRANCE.

“ The Representatives of the people of FRANCE formed into a National Assembly, considering that ignorance, neglect, or contempt of human rights, are the sole causes of public misfortunes and corruptions of government, have resolved to set forth, in a solemn declaration, these natural, imprescriptible, and unalienable rights : That this declaration being constantly present to the minds of the members of the body social, they may be ever kept attentive to their rights and their duties : That the acts of the legislative and executive powers of government, being capable of being every moment compared with the end of political institutions, may be more respected : and
also,

also, that the future claims of the citizens, being directed by simple and incontestible principles, may always tend to the maintenance of the constitution, and the general happiness.

“ For these reasons, the NATIONAL ASSEMBLY doth recognize and declare, in the presence of the Supreme Being, and with the hope of his blessing and favor, the following *sacred* rights of men and of citizens :

‘ I. *Men are born and always continue free, and equal in respect of their rights. Civil distinctions, therefore, can be founded only on public utility.*

II. ‘ *The end of all political associations is the preservation of the natural and imprescriptible rights of man ; and these rights are liberty, property, security, and resistance of oppression.*

‘ III. *The nation is essentially the source of all sovereignty ; nor can any INDIVIDUAL, or ANY BODY OF MEN, be entitled to any authority which is not expressly derived from it.*

‘ IV. Political Liberty consists in the power of doing whatever does not injure another. The exercise of the natural rights of every man, has no other limits than those which are necessary to secure to every *other* man the free exercise of the same rights ; and these limits are determinable only by the law.

‘ V. The law ought to prohibit only actions hurtful to society. What is not prohibited by the law, should not be hindered ; nor should any one be compelled to that which the law does not require.

‘ VI. The law is an expression of the will of the community. All citizens have a right to concur, either personally, or by their representatives, in its formation. It should be the same to all, whether it protects or punishes ; and *all being equal in its sight, ere equally eligible to all honors, places, and employments, according to their different abilities, without any other distinction than that created by their virtues and talents.*

‘ VII. No man should be accused, arrested, or held in confinement, except in cases determined by the law, and according to the forms which it has prescribed. All who promote, solicit, execute, or cause to be executed, arbitrary orders, ought to be punished ; and every citizen called upon or apprehended by virtue of the law, ought immediately to obey, and renders himself culpable by resistance.

‘ VIII. The law ought to impose no other penalties than such as are absolutely and evidently necessary ; and no one
ought

‘ ought to be punished, but in virtue of a law promulgated
‘ before the offence, and legally applied.

‘ IX. Every man being presumed innocent till he has been
‘ convicted, whenever his detention becomes indispensable, all
‘ rigour to him, more than is necessary to secure his person,
‘ ought to be provided against by the law.

‘ X. No man ought to be molested on account of his opi-
‘ nions, not even on account of his *religious* opinions, provid-
‘ ed his avowal of them does not disturb the public order esta-
‘ blished by the law.

‘ XI. The unrestrained communication of thoughts and o-
‘ pinions being one of the most precious rights of man, every
‘ citizen may speak, write, and publish freely, provided he is
‘ responsible for the abuse of this liberty in cases determined
‘ by the law.

‘ XII. A public force being necessary to give security to the
‘ rights of men and of citizens, that force is instituted for the
‘ benefit of the community, and not for the particular benefit
‘ of the persons with whom it is entrusted.

‘ XIII. A common contribution being necessary for the sup-
‘ port of the public force, and for defraying the other expen-
‘ ces of government, it ought to be divided equally among the
‘ members of the community, according to their abilities.

‘ XIV. Every citizen has a right, either by himself or his
‘ representative, to a free voice in determining the necessity of
‘ public contributions, the appropriation of them, and their
‘ amount, mode of assessment, and duration.

‘ XV. Every community has a right to demand of all its
‘ agents, an account of their conduct.

‘ XVI. Every community in which a separation of pow-
‘ ers and a security of rights is not provided for, wants a
‘ constitution.

‘ XVII. The right to property being inviolable and sacred,
‘ no one ought to be deprived of it, except in cases of evident
‘ public necessity legally ascertained, and on condition of a
‘ previous just indemnity.”

OBSERVATIONS ON THE DECLARATION OF RIGHTS.

The three first articles comprehend in general terms, the whole of a Declaration of Rights: All the succeeding articles either originate out of them, or follow as elucidations. The 4th, 5th, and 6th, define more particularly what is only generally expressed in the 1st, 2d, and 3d.

The 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, and 11th articles, are declaratory of *principles* upon which laws shall be constructed conformable to *rights* already declared. But it is questioned by some very good people in France, as well as in other countries, whether the 10th article sufficiently guarantees the right it is intended to accord with: besides which, it takes off from the divine dignity of religion, and weakens its operative force upon the mind to make it a subject of human laws. It then presents itself to Man, like light intercepted by a cloudy medium, in which the source of it is obscured from his sight, and he sees nothing to reverence in the dusky ray*.

The remaining articles, beginning with the twelfth, are substantially contained in the principles of the preceding articles; but, in the particular situation which France then was, having to undo what was wrong, as well as to set up what was right, it was proper to be more particular than what in another condition of things would be necessary.

While the Declaration of Rights was before the National Assembly some of its members remarked, that if a Declaration of rights was published, it should be accompanied by a declaration of duties. The observation discovered a mind that reflected, and it only erred by not reflecting far enough. A Declaration of Rights is, by reciprocity, a Declaration of duties also. Whatever is my right as a man, is also the right of another; and it becomes my duty to guarantee, as well as to possess. The

* There is a single idea, which, if it strikes rightly upon the mind either in a legal or a religious sense, will prevent any man, or any body of men, or any government, from going wrong on the subject of Religion; which is, that before any human institutions of government were known in the world, there existed, if I may so express it, a compact between God and Man, from the beginning of time; and that as the relation and condition which man in his *individual person* stands in towards his Maker cannot be changed, or any ways altered by any human laws or human authority, that religious devotion, which is a part of this compact, cannot so much as be made a subject of human laws; and that all laws must conform themselves to this prior existing compact, and not assume to make the compact conform to the laws, which, besides being human, are subsequent thereto. The first act of man, when he looked around and saw himself a creature which he did not make, and a world furnished for his reception, must have been devotion; and devotion must ever continue sacred to every individual man, *as it appears right to him*; and governments do mischief by interfering.

The three first articles are the basis of Liberty, as well individual as national; nor can any country be called free, whose government does not take its beginning from the principles they contain, and continue to preserve them pure; and the whole of the Declaration of Rights is of more value to the world, and will do more good, than all the laws and statutes that have yet been promulgated.

In the declaratory exordium which prefaces the Declaration of Rights, we see the solemn and majestic spectacle of a Nation opening its commission, under the auspices of its Creator, to establish a Government; a scene so new, and so transcendently unequalled by any thing in the European world, that the name of a Revolution is diminutive of its character, and it rises into a Regeneration of man. What are the present Governments of Europe, but a scene of iniquity and oppression? What is that of England? Does not its own inhabitants say, It is a market where every man has his price, and where corruption is common traffic, at the expence of a deluded people? No wonder, then, that the French Revolution is traduced. Had it confined itself merely to the destruction of flagrant despotism, perhaps Mr. Burke and some others had been silent. Their cry now is, "It has gone too far:" that is, it has gone too far for them. It stares corruption in the face, and the venal tribe are all alarmed. Their fear discovers itself in their outrage, and they are but publishing the groans of a wounded vice. But from such opposition, the French Revolution, instead of suffering, receives an homage. The more it is struck, the more sparks it will emit; and the fear is, it will not be struck enough. It has nothing to dread from attacks: Truth has given it an establishment; and Time will record it with a name as lasting as his own.

Having now traced the progress of the French Revolution through most of its principal stages, from its commencement to the taking of the Bastille, and its establishment by the Declaration of Rights, I will close the subject with the energetic apostrophe of M. de la Fayette---*May this great monument raised to Liberty, serve as a lesson to the oppressor, and an example to the oppressed!* *

MIS-

* See page 12 of this work.—N. B. Since the taking the Bastille, the occurrences have been published: but the matters recorded in this narrative, are prior to that period; and some of them, as may easily be seen, can be but very little known.

MISCELLANEOUS CHAPTER.

To prevent interrupting the argument in the preceding part of this work, or the narrative that follows it, I reserved some observations to be thrown together into a Miscellaneous Chapter; by which variety might not be censured for confusion. Mr. Burke's Book is *all* Miscellany. His intention was to make an attack on the French Revolution; but instead of proceeding with an orderly arrangement, he has stormed it with a Mob of ideas, tumbling over and destroying one another.

But this confusion and contradiction in Mr. Burke's Book, is easily accounted for. When a man in a long cause attempts to steer his course by any thing else than some polar truth or principle, he is sure to be lost. It is beyond the compass of his capacity, to keep all the parts of an argument together, and make them unite in one issue, by any other means than having this guide always in view. Neither memory nor invention will supply the want of it. The former fails him, and the latter betrays him.

Notwithstanding the nonsense, for it deserves no better name, that Mr. Burke has asserted about hereditary rights, and hereditary succession, and that a Nation has not a right to form a Government for itself; it happened to fall in his way to give some account of what Government is. "*Government*," says he, *is a contrivance of human wisdom.*"

Admitting that Government is a contrivance of human wisdom, it must necessarily follow, that hereditary succession, and hereditary rights, (as they are called) can make no part of it, because it is impossible to make wisdom hereditary; and on the other hand, *that* cannot be a wise contrivance, which in its operation may commit the government of a nation to the wisdom of an idiot. The ground which Mr. Burke now takes is fatal to every part of his cause. The argument changes from hereditary rights to hereditary wisdom; and the question is, Who is the wisest man? He must now shew that every one in the line of hereditary succession was a Solomon, or his title is not good to be a king. What a stroke has Mr. Burke now made! To use a sailor's phrase, he has *swabbed the deck*, and scarcely left a name legible in the list of kings; and he has mowed down and thinned the House of Peers, with a scythe as formidable as Death and Time.

But, Mr. Burke appears to have been aware of this retort, and he has taken care to guard against it, by making government to be not only a *contrivance* of human wisdom, but a *monopoly* of wisdom. He puts the nation as fools on one side, and places his government of wisdom, all wise men of Gotham, on the other side; and he then proclaims, and says, that “*Men have a RIGHT that their WANTS should be provided for by this wisdom.*” Having thus made proclamation, he next proceeds to explain to them what their *wants* are, and also what their *rights* are. In this he has succeeded dextrously, for he makes their wants to be a *want* of wisdom; but as this is but cold comfort, he then informs them, that they have a *right* (not to any of the wisdom) but to be governed by it: and in order to impress them with a solemn reverence for this monopoly-government of wisdom, and of its vast capacity for all purposes, possible or impossible, right or wrong, he proceeds with astrological mysterious importance, to tell to them its powers, in these words---“The Rights of men in government are their advantages; and these are often in balances between differences of good; and in compromises sometimes between *good* and *evil*, and sometimes between *evil* and *evil*. Political reason is a *computing principle*; adding, subtracting, multiplying, and dividing, morally, and not metaphysically or mathematically, true moral demonstrations.”

As the wondering audience whom Mr. Burke supposes himself talking to, may not understand all this learned jargon, I will undertake to be its interpreter. The meaning then, good people of all this is, *That government is governed by no principle whatever; that it can make evil good, or good evil, just as it pleases. In short, that government is arbitrary power.*

But there are some things which Mr. Burke has forgotten. *First*, He has not shewn where the wisdom originally came from: and *secondly*, he has not shewn by what authority it first began to act. In the manner he introduces the matter, it is either government stealing wisdom, or wisdom stealing government. It is without an origin, and its powers without authority. In short, it is usurpation.

Whether it be from a sense of shame, or from a consciousness of some radical defect in a government necessary to be kept out of sight, or from both, or from any other cause, I undertake

dertake not to determine; but so it is, that a monarchical pensioner never traces government to its source, or from its source. It is one of the *fibboleths* by which he may be known. A thousand years hence, those who shall live in America or in France, will look back with contemplative pride on the origin of their governments, and say, *This was the work of our glorious ancestors!* But what can a monarchical talker say? What has he to exult in? Alas! he has nothing. A certain something forbids him to look back to a beginning, lest some robber or some Robin Hood should rise from the long obscurity of time, and say, *I am the origin.* Hard as Mr. Burke laboured the Regency Bill and hereditary succession two years ago, and much as he dived for precedents, he still had not boldness enough to bring up William of Normandy, and say, *There is the head of the list, there is the fountain of honour, the son of a prostitute, and the plunderer of the English nation.*

The opinions of men with respect to government, are changing fast in all countries. The revolutions of America and France have thrown a beam of light over the world, which reaches into man. The enormous expence of governments have provoked people to think, by making them feel: and when once the veil begins to rend, it admits not of repair. Ignorance is of a peculiar nature: once dispelled, and it is impossible to re-establish it. It is not originally a thing of itself, but is only the absence of knowledge; and though man may be *kept* ignorant, he cannot be *made* ignorant. The mind, in discovering truth, acts in the same manner as it acts through the eye in discovering object; when once any object has been seen, it is impossible to put the mind back to the same condition it was in before it saw it. Those who talk of a counter revolution in France, shew how little they understand of man. There does not exist in the compass of language, an arrangement of words to express so much as the means of effecting a counter revolution. The means must be an obliteration of knowledge; and it has never yet been discovered, how to make man *unknow* his knowledge, or *unthink* his thoughts.

Mr. Burke is labouring in vain to stop the progress of knowledge; and it comes with the worse grace from him, as there is a certain transaction known in the city, which renders him suspected of being a pensioner in a fictitious name. This may account for some strange doctrine he has advanced in his book,

which,

which, though he points it at the Revolution Society, is effectually directed against the whole Nation.

“ The King of England,” says he, “ holds *his* Crown (for “ it does not belong to the nation, according to Mr. Burke), “ in *contempt* of the choice of the Revolution Society, who “ have not a single vote for a King among them either *indivi-* “ *dually* or *collectively*; and his Majesty’s heirs, each in their “ time and order, will come to the Crown *with the same con-* “ *tempt* of their choice, with which his Majesty has succeeded “ to that which he now wears.

As to who is king in England or elsewhere, or whether there is any king at all, or whether the people chuse a Cherokee-Chief, or a Hessian Hussar for a King, is not a matter that I trouble myself about, be that to themselves; but with respect to the doctrine, so far as it relates to the Rights of Men and Nations, it is as abominable as any thing ever uttered in the most enslaved country under heaven. Whether it sounds worse to my ear, by not being accustomed to hear such despotism, than what it does to the ear of another person, I am not so well a judge of; but of its abominable principle, I am at no loss to judge.

It is not the Revolution Society that Mr. Burke means; it is the Nation, as well in its *original*, as in its *representative* character; and he has taken care to make himself understood, by saying that they have not a vote either *collectively* or *individually*. The Revolution Society is composed of citizens of all denominations, and of members of both the Houses of Parliament; and consequently, if there is not a right to a vote in any of the characters, there can be no right to any either in the nation or in its parliament. This ought to be a caution to every country, how it imports foreign families to be Kings. It is somewhat curious to observe, that although the people of England have been in the habit of talking about Kings, it is always a foreign house of Kings; hating foreigners, yet governed by them. It is now the House of Brunswick, one of the petty tribes of Germany.

It has hitherto been the practice of the English Parliaments, to regulate what was called the succession, (taking it for granted, that the nation then continued to accord to the form of annexing a monarchical branch to its government; for without this, the parliament could not have had authority to have sent either to Holland or to Hanover, or to impose a King up-

on the nation against its will.) And this must be the utmost limit to which Parliament can go upon the case; but the right of the nation goes to the *whole* case, because it has the right of changing its *whole* form of government. The right of a Parliament is only a right in trust, a right by delegation, and that but from a very small part of the nation; and one of its Houses has not even this. But the right of the nation is an original right, as universal as taxation. The nation is the paymaster of every thing, and every thing must conform to its general will.

I remember taking notice of a speech in what is called the English House of Peers, by the then Earl of Shelburne, and I think it was at the time he was Minister, which is applicable to this case. I do not directly charge my memory with every particular; but the words and the purport, as nearly as I remember, were these: *That the form of a Government was a matter wholly at the will of a Nation at all times: that if it chose a monarchical form, it had a right to have it so; and if it afterwards chose to be a Republic, it had a right to be a Republic, and to say to a King, we have no longer any occasion for you.*

When Mr. Burke says that "His Majesty's heirs and successors, each in their time and order, will come to the crown with the *same contempt* of their choice with which His Majesty has succeeded to that he wears," it is saying too much even to the humblest individual in the country; part of whose daily labour goes towards making up the million sterling a year, which the country gives the person it styles a King. Government with insolence, is despotism; but when contempt is added, it becomes worse; and to pay for contempt, is the excess of slavery. This species of Government comes from Germany; and reminds me of what one of the Brunswick soldiers told me, who was taken prisoner by the Americans in the late war: "Ah!" said he, "America is a fine free country, it is worth the people's fighting for; I know the difference by knowing my own; in my country, if the prince say, Eat straw, we eat straw."---God help that country, thought I, be it England or elsewhere, whose liberties are to be protected by German principles of government and princes of Brunswick.

As Mr. Burke sometimes speaks of England, sometimes of France, and sometimes of the world, and of government in general,

general, it is difficult to answer his book without apparently meeting him on the same ground. Although principles of Government are general subjects, it is next to impossible in many cases to separate them from the idea of place and circumstance; and the more so when circumstances are put for arguments, which is frequently the case with Mr. Burke.

In the former part of his Book, addressing himself to the people of France, he says, "No experience has taught us, (meaning the English), that in any other course or method than that of an *hereditary crown*, can our liberties be regularly perpetuated and preserved sacred as our *hereditary right*." I ask Mr. Burke who is to take them away? M. de la Fayette, in speaking to France, says, "*For a Nation to be free, it is sufficient that she wills it.*" But Mr. Burke represents England as wanting capacity to take care of itself; and that its liberties must be taken care of by a King, holding it in "contempt." If England is sunk to this, it is preparing itself to eat straw, as in Hanover or in Brunswick. But besides the folly of the declaration, it happens that the facts are all against Mr. Burke. It was by the Government *being hereditary*, that the liberties of the people were endangered. Charles the first, and James the second, are instances of this truth; yet neither of them went so far as to hold the Nation in contempt.

As it is sometimes of advantage to the people of one country, to hear what those of other countries have to say respecting it, it is possible that the people of France may learn something from Mr. Burke's Book, and that the people of England may also learn something from the answers it will occasion. When Nations fall out about freedom, a wide field of debate is opened. The argument commences with the rights of war, without its evils; and as knowledge is the object contended for, the party that sustains the defeat obtains the prize.

Mr. Burke talks about what he calls an hereditary crown, as if it were some production of nature; or as if, like time, it had a power to operate not only independent, but in spite of man; or as if it were a thing or a subject universally consented to. Alas! it has none of those properties, but is the reverse of them all. It is a thing in imagination, the propriety of which is more than doubted, and the legality of which in a few years will be denied.

But, to arrange this matter in a clearer view than what general expressions can convey, it will be necessary to state the distinct heads under which (what is called) an hereditary crown, or, more properly speaking, an hereditary succession to the Government of a Nation, can be considered; which are,

First, The right of a particular family to establish itself.

Secondly, The right of a Nation to establish a particular family.

With respect to the *first* of these heads, that of a family establishing itself with hereditary powers on its own authority, and independent of the consent of a Nation, all men will concur in calling it despotism; and it would be trespassing on their understanding to attempt to prove it.

But the *second* head, that of a Nation establishing a particular family with *hereditary powers*, it does not present itself as despotism on the first reflection; but if men will permit a second reflection to take place, and carry that reflection forward but one remove out of their own persons to that of their offspring, they will then see that hereditary succession becomes in its consequences the same despotism to others, which they reprobated for themselves. It operates to preclude the consent of the succeeding generation, and the preclusion of consent is despotism. When the person who at any time shall be in possession of a Government, or those who stand in succession to him, shall say to a Nation, I hold this power in "contempt" of you, it signifies not on what authority he pretends to say it. It is no relief, but an aggravation to a person in slavery, to reflect that he was sold by his parent; and as that which heightens the criminality of an act cannot be produced to prove the legality of it, hereditary succession cannot be established as a legal thing.

In order to arrive at a more perfect decision on this head, it will be proper to consider the generation which undertakes to establish a family with *hereditary powers*, a-part and separate from the generations which are to follow; and also to consider the character in which the *first* generation acts with respect to succeeding generations.

The generation which first selects a person, and puts him at the head of its Government, either with the title of King, or any other distinction, acts its *own choice*, be it wise or foolish, as a free agent for itself. The person so set up is not hereditary,

hereditary, but selected and appointed ; and the generation who sets him up, does not live under an hereditary government, but under a government of its own choice and establishment. Were the generation who sets him up, and the person so set up, to live forever, it never could become hereditary succession ; and of consequence, hereditary succession can only follow on the death of the first parties.

As therefore hereditary succession is out of the question with respect to the *first* generation, we have now to consider the character in which *that* generation acts with respect to the commencing generation, and to all succeeding ones.

It assumes a character, to which it has neither right nor title. It changes itself from a *Legislator* to a *Testator*, and affects to make its Will, which is to have operation after the demise of the makers, to bequeath the Government ; and it not only attempts to bequeath, but to establish on the succeeding generation, a new and different form of government under which itself lived. Itself, as is already observed, lived not under an hereditary Government, but under a Government of its own choice and establishment ; and it now attempts, by virtue of a will and testament, (and which it has not authority to make) to take from the commencing generation, and all future ones, the rights and free agency by which itself acted.

But, exclusive of the right which any generation has to act collectively as a testator, the objects to which it applies itself in this case, are not within the compass of any law, or of any will or testament.

The rights of men in society, are neither deviseable, nor transferable, nor annihilable, but are descendable only ; and it is not in the power of any generation to intercept finally, and cut off the descent. If the present generation, or any other, are disposed to be slaves, it does not lessen the right of the succeeding generation to be free : wrongs cannot have a legal descent. When Mr. Burke attempts to maintain, that the *English Nation did at the Revolution of 1688 most solemnly renounce and abdicate their rights for themselves, and for all their posterity for ever*, he speaks a language that merits not reply, and which can only excite contempt for his prostitute principles, or pity for his ignorance.

In whatever light hereditary succession, as growing out of the will and testament of some former generation, presents itself, it is an absurdity. A cannot make a will to take from B the property of B, and give it to C; yet this is the manner in which (what is called) hereditary succession by law, operates. A certain former generation made a will to take away the rights of the commencing generation and all future ones, and convey those rights to a third person, who afterwards comes forward, and tells them in Mr. Burk's language, that they have *no rights*, that their rights are already bequeathed to him, and that he will govern in *contempt* of them. From such principles, and such ignorance, Good Lord deliver the world!

But, after all, what is this metaphor called a crown, or rather what is monarchy? Is it a thing, or is it a name, or is it a fraud? Is it "a contrivance of human wisdom," or of human craft to obtain money from a nation under specious pretences? Is it a thing necessary to a nation? If it is, in what does that necessity consist, what services does it perform, what is its business, and what are its merits? Doth the virtue consist in the metaphor, or in the man? Doth the goldsmith that makes the crown, make the virtue also? Doth it operate like Fortunatus's wishing cap, or Harlequin's wooden sword? Doth it make a man a conjuror? In fine, what is it? It appears to be a something going much out of fashion, falling into ridicule, and rejected in some countries both as unnecessary and expensive. In America it is considered as an absurdity, and in France it has so far declined, that the goodness of the man, and the respect for his personal character, are the only things that preserve the appearance of its existence.

If Government be what Mr. Burke describes it, "a contrivance of human wisdom," I might ask him, if wisdom was at such a low ebb in England, that it was become necessary to import it from Holland and from Hanover? But I will do the country the justice to say, that was not the case; and even if it was, it mistook the cargo. The wisdom of every country, when properly exerted, is sufficient for all its purposes; and there could exist no more real occasion in England to have sent for a Dutch Stadtholder, or a German Elector, than there was in America to have done a similar thing. If a country does not understand its own affairs, how is a foreigner to understand

them, who knows neither its laws, its manners, nor its language? If there existed a man so transcendently wise above all others, that his wisdom was necessary to instruct a nation, some reason might be offered for monarchy; but when we cast our eyes about a country, and observe how every part understands its own affairs; and when we look around the world, and see that of all men in it, the race of kings are the most insignificant in capacity; our reason cannot fail to ask us---What are those men kept for?

If there is any thing in monarchy which we people of America do not understand, I wish Mr. Burk would be so kind as to inform us. I see in America, a government extending over a country ten times as large as England, and conducted with regularity for a fortieth part of the expence which government costs in England. If I ask a man in America, if he wants a King? he retorts, and asks me if I take him for an idiot? How is it that this difference happens? are we more or less wise than others? I see in America, the generality of people living in a stile of plenty unknown in monarchical countries; and I see that the principle of its government, which is that of the *equal Rights of Man*, is making a rapid progress in the world.

If monarchy is a useless thing, why is it kept up any where? and if a necessary thing, how can it be dispensed with? That *civil government* is necessary, all civilized nations will agree in; but civil government is republican government. All that part of the government of England which begins with the office of constable, and proceeds through the department of magistrate, quarter-session; and general assize, including trial by jury, is republican government. Nothing of monarchy appears in any part of it, except the name which William the Conqueror imposed upon the English, that of obliging them to call him "Their Sovereign Lord the King."

It is easy to conceive, that a band of interested men, such as placemen, pensioners, Lords of the bed-chamber, Lords of the kitchen, Lords of the necessary-house, and the Lord knows what besides, can find as many reasons for monarchy as their salaries, paid at the expence of the country, amount to; but if I ask the farmer, the manufacturer, the merchant, the tradesman, and down through all the occupations of life to the common labourer, what service monarchy is to him? he can give me no answer. If I ask him what monarchy is, he believes it is something like a sinecure.

Notwithstanding

Notwithstanding the taxes of England amount to almost seventeen millions a year, said to be for the expences of Government, it is still evident that the sense of the Nation is left to govern itself, and does govern itself by magistrates and juries, almost at its own charge, on republican principles, exclusive of the expence of taxes. The salaries of the Judges are almost the only charge that is paid out of the revenue. Considering that all the internal government is executed by the people, the taxes of England ought to be lightest of any nation in Europe; instead of which, they are the contrary. As this cannot be accounted for on the score of civil government, the subject necessarily extends itself to the monarchical part.

When the people of England sent for George the First, (and it would puzzle a wiser man than Mr. Burke to discover for what he could be wanted, or what service he could render), they ought at least to have conditioned for the abandonment of Hanover. Besides the endless German intrigues that must follow from a German Elector being King of England, there is a natural impossibility of uniting in the same person the principles of Freedom and the principles of Despotism, or as it is usually called in England, Arbitrary Power. A German Elector is in his electorate a despot: How then could it be expected that he should be attached to principles of liberty in one country, while his interest in another was to be supported by despotism? The union cannot exist; and it might easily have been foreseen, that German Electors would make German Kings, or, in Mr. Burke's words, would assume government with 'contempt.' The English have been in the habit of considering a King of England only in the character in which he appears to them: whereas the same person, while the connection lasts, has a home-seat in another country, the interest of which is different to their own, and the principles of the governments in opposition to each other---To such a person England will appear as a town-residence, and the Electorate as the estate. The English may wish, as I believe they do, success to the principles of Liberty in France, or in Germany; but a German Elector trembles for the fate of despotism in his electorate; and the Dutchy of Mecklenburgh, where the present Queen's family governs, is under the same wretched state of arbitrary power, and the people in slavish vassalage.

There never was a time when it became the English to watch continental intrigues more circumspectly than at the present moment, and to distinguish the politics of the Electorate from the politics of the Nation. The revolution of France has entirely changed the ground with respect to England and France, as nations : but the German despots, with Prussia at their head, are combining against Liberty; and the fondness of Mr. Pitt for office, and the interest which all his family connections have obtained, do not give sufficient security against this intrigue.

As every thing which passes in the world becomes matter for history, I will now quit this subject, and take a concise review of the state of parties and politics in England, as Mr. Burke has done in France.

Whether the present reign commenced with contempt, I leave to Mr. Burke : certain however it is, that it had strongly that appearance. The animosity of the English Nation, it is very well remembered, ran high ; and, had the true principles of Liberty been as well understood then as they now promise to be, it is probable the Nation would not have patiently submitted to so much. George the First and Second were sensible of a rival in the remains of the Stuarts ; and as they could not but consider themselves as standing on their good behaviour, they had prudence to keep their German principles of Government to themselves ; but as the Stuart Family wore away, the prudence became less necessary.

The contest between rights, and what were called prerogatives, continued to heat the Nation till some time after the conclusion of the American War, when all at once it fell a calm ; execration exchanged itself for applause, and Court popularity sprung up like a mushroom in the night.

To account for this sudden transition, it is proper to observe, that there are two distinct species of popularity ; the one excited by merit, the other by resentment. As the Nation had formed itself into two parties, and each was extolling the merits of its parliamentary champions for and against prerogative, nothing could operate to give a more general shock than an immediate coalition of the champions themselves. The partisans of each being thus suddenly left in the lurch, and mutually heated with disgust at the measure, felt no other relief than uniting in a common execration against both. A higher stimulus

stimulus of resentment being thus excited, than what the contest on prerogatives had occasioned, the Nation quitted all former objects of rights and wrongs, and sought only that of gratification. The indignation at the Coalition, so effectually superseded the indignation against the Court, as to extinguish it; and without any change of principles on the part of the Court, the same people who had reprobated its despotism, united with it, to revenge themselves on the Coalition Parliament. The case was not, which they liked best--but, which they hated most; and the least hated passed for love. The dissolution of the Coalition Parliament, as it afforded the means of gratifying the resentment of the Nation, could not fail to be popular; and from hence arose the popularity of the Court.

Transitions of this kind exhibit a Nation under the government of temper, instead of a fixed and steady principle: and having once committed itself, however rashly, it feels itself urged along to justify by continuance its first proceeding. Measures which at other times it would censure, it now approves, and acts persuasion upon itself to suffocate its judgement.

On the return of a new Parliament, the new Minister, Mr. Pitt, found himself in a secure majority: and the Nation gave him credit, not out of regard to himself, but because it had resolved to do it out of resentment to another. He introduced himself to public notice by a proposed reform of Parliament, which in its operation would have amounted to a public justification of corruption. The Nation was to be at the expence of buying up the rotten boroughs, whereas it ought to punish the persons who deal in the traffic.

Passing over the two bubbles, of the Dutch business, and the million a-year to sink the national debt, the matter which most presents itself, is the affair of the Regency. Never in the course of my observation, was delusion more successfully acted, nor a nation more completely deceived. But, to make this appear, it will be necessary to go over the circumstances.

Mr. Fox had stated in the House of Commons, that the Prince of Wales, as heir in succession, had a right in himself to assume the government. This was opposed by Mr. Pitt; and, so far as the opposition was confined to the doctrine, it was just. But the principles which Mr. Pitt maintained on the contrary side, were as bad, or worse in their extent, than

those of Mr. Fox; because they went to establish an aristocracy over the Nation, and over the small representation it has in the House of Commons.

Whether the English form of Government be good or bad, is not in this case the question; but, taking it as it stands, without regard to its merits or demerits, Mr. Pitt was farther from the point than Mr. Fox.

It is supposed to consist of three parts:--while, therefore, the Nation is disposed to continue this form, the parts have a *national standing*, independent of each other, and are not the creatures of each other. Had Mr. Fox passed through Parliament, and said, that the person alluded to claimed on the ground of the Nation, Mr. Pitt must then have contended (what he called) the right of the Parliament, against the right of the Nation.

By the appearance which the contest made, Mr. Fox took the hereditary ground, and Mr. Pitt the parliamentary ground; but the fact is, they both took hereditary ground, and Mr. Pitt took the worst of the two.

What is called the Parliament, is made up of two Houses; one of which is more hereditary, and more beyond the controul of the Nation, than what the Crown (as it is called) is supposed to be. It is an hereditary aristocracy, assuming and asserting indefeasible, irrevocable rights and authority, wholly independent of the Nation. Where then was the merited popularity of exalting this hereditary power over another hereditary power less independent of the Nation than what itself assumed to be, and of absorbing the rights of the Nation into a House over which it has neither election nor controul?

The general impulse of the Nation was right; but it acted without reflection. It approved the opposition made to the right set up by Mr. Fox, without perceiving that Mr. Pitt was supporting another indefeasible right, more remote from the Nation, in opposition to it.

With respect to the House of Commons, it is elected but by a small part of the Nation; but were the election as universal as taxation, which it ought to be, it would still be only the organ of the Nation, and cannot possess inherent rights. When the National Assembly of France resolves a matter, the resolve is made in right of the Nation; but Mr. Pitt, on all national questions, so far as they refer to the

House

House of Commons, absorbs the rights of the Nation into the organ, and makes the organ into a Nation, and the Nation itself into a cypher.

In a few words, the question on the Regency was a question on a million a year, which is appropriated to the executive department: and Mr. Pitt could not possess himself of any management of this sum, without setting up the supremacy of Parliament; and when this was accomplished, it was indifferent who should be Regent, as he must be Regent at his own cost. Among the curiosities which this contentious debate afforded, was that of making the Great Seal into a King; the affixing of which to an act, was to be royal authority. If, therefore, Royal Authority is a Great Seal, it consequently is in itself nothing; and a good Constitution would be of infinitely more value to the Nation, than what the three Nominal Powers, as they now stand, are worth.

The continual use of the word *Constitution* in the English Parliament, shews there is none; and that the whole is merely a form of Government without a Constitution, and constituting itself with what powers it pleases. If there were a Constitution, it certainly would be referred to; and the debate on any constitutional point, would terminate by producing the Constitution. One member says, This is Constitution; another says, That is Constitution---To-day it is one thing; and to-morrow, it is something else---while the maintaining the debate proves there is none. Constitution is now the cant word of Parliament, tuning itself to the ear of the Nation. Formerly it was the *universal supremacy of Parliament*---the *omnipotence of Parliament*. But, since the progress of Liberty in France, those phrases have a despotic harshness in their note; and the English Parliament have caught the fashion from the National Assembly, but without the substance, of speaking of *Constitution*.

As the present generation of people in England did not make the Government, they are not accountable for any of its defects: but that sooner or later it must come into their hands to undergo a constitutional reformation, is as certain as that the same thing has happened in France. If France, with a revenue of nearly twenty-four millions sterling, with an extent of rich and fertile country above four times larger than England, with a population of twenty four-millions of inhabit-

ants to support taxation, with upwards of ninety millions sterling of gold and silver circulating in the nation, and with a debt less than the present debt of England---still found it necessary, from whatever cause, to come to a settlement of its affairs, it solves the problem of funding for both countries.

It is out of the question to say how long, what is called, the English constitution has lasted, and to argue from thence how long it is to last; the question is, how long can the funding system last? It is a thing but of modern invention, and has not yet continued beyond the life of a man; yet in that short space it has so far accumulated, that, together with the current expences, it requires an amount of taxes at least equal to the whole landed rental of the nation in acres, to defray the annual expenditures. That a government could not always have gone on by the same system which has been followed for the last seventy years, must be evident to every man; and for the same reason it cannot always go on.

The funding system is not money; neither is it, properly speaking, credit. It in effect, creates upon paper the sum which it appears to borrow, and lays on a tax to keep the imaginary capital alive by the payment of interest, and sends the annuity to market, to be sold for paper already in circulation. If any credit is given, it is to the disposition of the people to pay the tax, and not to the Government which lays it on. When this disposition expires, what is supposed to be the credit of Government expires with it. The instance of France under the former Government shews that it is impossible to compel the payment of taxes by force, when a whole nation is determined to take its stand upon that ground.

Mr. Burke, in his review of the finances of France, states the quantity of gold and silver in France, at about eighty-eight millions sterling. In doing this, he has, I presume, divided by the difference of exchange, instead of the standard of twenty-four livres to a pound sterling; for M. Neckar's statement, from which Mr. Burke's is taken, is *two thousand two hundred millions of livres*, which is upwards of ninety-one millions and an half sterling.

M. Neckar in France, and Mr. George Chalmers of the Office of Trade and Plantation in England, of which Lord Hawkesbury is president, published nearly about the same time (1786) an account of the quantity of money in each nation, from

from the returns of the Mint of each nation. Mr. Chalmers, from the returns of the English Mint at the Tower of London, states the quantity of money in England, including Scotland and Ireland, to be twenty millions sterling*.

M. Neckar† says, that the amount of money in France, re-coined from the old coin which was called in, was two thousand five hundred millions of livres, (upwards of one hundred and four millions sterling); and, after deducting for waste, and what may be in the West-Indies, and other possible circumstances, states the circulating quantity at home, to be ninety-one millions and an half sterling; but, taking it as Mr. Burke has put it, it is sixty-eight millions more than the national quantity in England.

That the quantity of money in France cannot be under this sum, may at once be seen from the state of the French Revenue, without referring to the records of the French Mint for proofs. The revenue of France prior to the Revolution, was nearly twenty-four millions sterling; and as paper had then no existence in France, the whole revenue was collected upon gold and silver; and it would have been impossible to have collected such a quantity of revenue upon a less national quantity than M. Neckar has stated. Before the establishment of paper in England, the revenue was about a fourth part of the national amount of gold and silver, as may be known by referring to the revenue prior to King William, and the quantity of money stated to be in the nation at that time, which was nearly as much as it is now.

It can be of no real service to a Nation, to impose upon itself, or to permit itself to be imposed upon; but the prejudices of some, and the imposition of others, have always represented France as a nation possessing but little money---whereas the quantity is not only more than four times what the quantity is in England, but is considerably greater on a proportion of numbers. To account for this deficiency on the part of England, some reference should be had to the English system of funding. It operates to multiply paper, and to substitute it in the room of money, in various shapes; and the more paper is multiplied, the more opportunities are afforded to export the specie; and it admits of a possibility (by
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* See *Estimate of the Comparative Strength of Great Britain*, by G. Chalmers.

† See *Administration of the Finances of France*, Vol. III. by M. Neckar.

extending it to small notes) of increasing paper, till there is no money left.

I know this is not a pleasant subject to English readers; but the matters I am going to mention, are so important in themselves, as to require the attention of men interested in money-transactions of a public nature. There is a circumstance stated by M. Neckar, in his treatise on the administration of the finances, which has never been attended to in England, but which forms the only basis whereon to estimate the quantity of money (gold and silver) which ought to be in every nation in Europe, to preserve a relative proportion with other nations.

Lisbon and Cadiz are the two ports into which (money) gold and silver from South America are imported, and which afterwards divides and spreads itself over Europe by means of commerce, and increases the quantity of money in all parts of Europe. If, therefore, the amount of the annual importation into Europe can be known, and the relative proportion of the foreign commerce of the several nations by which it is distributed can be ascertained, they give a rule, sufficiently true, to ascertain the quantity of money which ought to be found in any nation at any given time.

M. Neckar shews from the registers of Lisbon and Cadiz, that the importation of gold and silver into Europe, is five millions sterling annually. He has not taken it on a single year, but on an average of fifteen succeeding years, from 1763 to 1777, both inclusive; in which time, the amount was one thousand eight hundred million livres, which is seventy-five millions sterling*.

From the commencement of the Hanover succession in 1714, to the time Mr. Chalmers published, is seventy-two years; and the quantity imported into Europe, in that time, would be three hundred and sixty millions sterling.

If the foreign commerce of Great Britain be stated at a sixth part of what the whole foreign commerce of Europe amounts to, (which is probably an inferior estimation to what the gentlemen at the Exchange would allow), the proportion which Britain should draw by commerce of this sum, to keep herself on a proportion with the rest of Europe, would be also a sixth part, which is sixty millions sterling; and if the same allowance for waste and accident be made for England, which M. Neckar makes for France, the quantity remaining after these deductions

deductions, would be fifty-two millions; and this sum ought to have been in the nation (at the time Mr. Chalmers published) in addition to the sum which was in the nation at the commencement of the Hanover succession, and to have made in the whole at least sixty-six millions sterling; instead of which, there were but twenty millions, which is forty-six millions below its proportionate quantity.

As the quantity of gold and silver imported into Lisbon and Cadiz is more exactly ascertained than that of any commodity imported into England; and as the quantity of money coined at the Tower of London is still more positively known, the leading facts do not admit of controversy. Either, therefore, the commerce of England is unproductive of profit, or the gold and silver which it brings in leak continually away by unseen means, at the average rate of about three quarters of a million a year, which, in the course of seventy-two years, accounts for the deficiency; and its absence is supplied by paper*.

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* Whether the English commerce does not bring in money, or whether the Government sends it out after it is brought in, is a matter which the parties concerned can best explain; but that the deficiency exists, is not in the power of either to disprove. While Dr. Price, Mr. Eden (now Auckland) Mr. Chalmers, and others, were debating whether the quantity of money in England was greater or less than at the Revolution, the circumstance was not adverted to, that since the Revolution, there cannot have been less than four hundred millions sterling imported into Europe; and therefore, the quantity in England ought at least to have been four times greater than it was at the Revolution, to be on a proportion with Europe. What England is now doing by paper, is what she should have been able to have done by solid money, if gold and silver had come into the nation in the proportion it ought, or had not been sent out; and she is endeavoring to restore by paper, the balance she has lost by money. It is certain, that the gold and silver which arrive annually in the registerships to Spain and Portugal, do not remain in those countries. Taking the value half in gold and half in silver, it is about four hundred tons annually; and from the number of ships and galleons employed in the trade of bringing those metals from South America to Portugal and Spain, the quantity sufficiently proves itself, without referring to the registers.

In the situation England now is, it is impossible she can increase in money. High taxes not only lessen the property of the individuals but they lessen also the money-capital of a nation, by inducing smuggling, which can only be carried on by gold and silver. By the politics which the British Government have carried on with the Inland Powers of Germany and the Continent, it has made an enemy of all the Maritime Powers, and is therefore obliged to keep up a large navy; but though the navy is built in England, the naval stores must be purchased from abroad, and that from countries where the greatest part must be paid for in gold and silver. Some fallacious rumours have been set afloat in England to induce a belief of money, and, among others, that of the French refugees bringing great quantities. The idea is ridiculous. The general part of the money in France is silver; and it would take upwards of twenty of the largest broad wheel waggons, with ten horses each, to remove one million sterling of silver. Is it then to be supposed, that a few people fleeing on horse-back, or in post chaises, in a secret manner, and having the French Custom-House to pass, and the sea to cross, could bring even a sufficiency for their own expenses.

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The Revolution of France is attended with many novel circumstances, not only in the political sphere, but in the circle of money transactions. Among others, it shews that a Government may be in a state of insolvency, and a nation rich. So far as the fact is confined to the late Government of France, it was insolvent; because the Nation would no longer support its extravagance, and therefore it could no longer support itself---but with respect to the Nation, all the means existed. A Government may be said to be insolvent, every time it applies to a Nation to discharge its arrears. The insolvency of the late Government of France, and the present Government of England, differed in no other respect than as the disposition of the people differ. The people of France refused their aid to the old Government; and the people of England submit to taxation without enquiry. What is called the Crown in England, has been insolvent several times; the last of which, publicly known, was in May 1777, when it applied to the Nation to discharge upwards of £600,000, private debts, which otherwise it could not pay.

It was the error of Mr. Pitt, Mr. Burke, and all those who were unacquainted with the affairs of France, to confound the French Nation with the French Government. The French Nation, in effect, endeavoured to render the late Government insolvent, for the purpose of taking Government into its own hands; and it reserved its means for the support of the new Government. In a country of such vast extent and population as France, the natural means cannot be wanting; and the political means appear the instant the Nation is disposed to permit them. When Mr. Burke, in a speech last Winter in the British Parliament, *cast his eyes over the map of Europe, and saw a chasm that once was France*, he talked like a dreamer of dreams. The same natural France existed as before, and all the natural means existed with it. The only chasm was that which the extinction of despotism had left, and which was to be filled up with a constitution more formidable in resources than the power which had expired. Although

When millions of money are spoken of, it should be recollected, that such sums can only accumulate in a country by slow degrees, and a long procession of time. The most frugal system that England could now adopt, would not recover in a century the balance she has lost in money since the commencement of the Hanover succession. She is seventy millions behind France, and she must be in some considerable proportion behind every country in Europe, because the returns of the English Mint do not shew an increase of money, while the registers of Lisbon and Cadiz shew a European increase of between three and four hundred millions sterling.

Although the French Nation rendered the late Government insolvent, it did not permit the insolvency to act towards the creditors; and the creditors considering the Nation as the real paymaster, and the Government only as the agent, rested themselves on the Nation, in preference to the Government. This appears greatly to disturb Mr. Burke, as the precedent is fatal to the policy by which Governments have supposed themselves secure. They have contracted debts, with a view of attaching what is called the monied interest of a Nation to their support; but the example in France shews, that the permanent security of the creditor is in the Nation, and not in the Government; and that in all possible revolutions that may happen in Governments, the means are always with the Nation, and the Nation always in existence. Mr. Burke argues, that the creditors ought to have abided the fate of the Government which they trusted; but the National Assembly considered them as the creditors of the Nation, and not of the Government--- of the master, and not of the steward.

Notwithstanding the late Government could not discharge the current expences, the present Government has paid off a great part of the capital. This has been accomplished by two means; the one by lessening the expences of Government, and the other by the sale of the monastic and ecclesiastical landed estates. The devotees and penitent debauchees, extortioners and misers of former days, to ensure themselves a better world than that which they were about to leave, had bequeathed immense property in trust to the priesthood, for *pious uses*; and the priesthood kept it for themselves. The National Assembly has ordered it to be sold for the good of the whole Nation, and the priesthood to be decently provided for.

In consequence of the Revolution, the annual interest of the debt of France will be reduced at least six millions sterling, by paying off upwards of one hundred millions of the capital; which, with lessening the former expences of Government at least three millions, will place France in a situation worthy the imitation of Europe.

Upon a whole review of the subject, how vast is the contrast! While Mr. Burke has been talking of a general bankruptcy in France, the National Assembly has been paying off the capital of its debt; and while taxes have increased near a million a-year in England, they have lowered several millions a-year in France. Not a word has either Mr. Burke or Mr. Pitt said about

bout French affairs, or the state of the French finances, in the present Session of Parliament. The subject begins to be too well understood, and imposition serves no longer.

There is a general enigma running through the whole of Mr. Burke's Book. He writes in a rage against the National Assembly; but what is he enraged about? If his assertions were as true as they are groundless, and that France by her Revolution had annihilated her power, and become what he calls a *chasm*, it might excite the grief of a Frenchman, (considering himself as a national man,) and provoke his rage against the National Assembly; but why should it excite the rage of Mr. Burke?---Alas! it is not the Nation of France that Mr. Burke means, but the COURT; and every Court in Europe, dreading the same fate, is in mourning. He writes neither in the character of a Frenchman nor an Englishman, but in the fawning character of that creature known in all countries, and a friend to none, a COURTIER. Whether it be the Court of Versailles, or the Court of St. James or of Carlton-House, or the Court in expectation, signifies not; for the caterpillar principles of all Courts and Courtiers are alike. They form a common policy throughout Europe, detached and separate from the interest of Nations: and while they appear to quarrel, they agree to plunder. Nothing can be more terrible to a Court or a Courtier, than the Revolution of France. That which is a blessing to Nations, is bitterness to them; and as their existence depends on the duplicity of a country, they tremble at the approach of principles, and dread the precedent that threatens their overthrow.

CONCLUSION.

REASON and Ignorance, the opposites of each other, influence the great bulk of mankind. If either of these can be rendered sufficiently extensive in a country, the machinery of Government goes easily on. Reason obeys itself; and Ignorance submits to whatever is dictated to it.

The two modes of Government which prevail in the world, are, *first*, Government by election and representation: *Secondly*, Government by hereditary succession. The former is generally

nerally known by the name of republic ; the latter by that of monarchy and aristocracy.

Those two distinct and opposite forms, erect themselves on the two distinct and opposite basis of Reason and Ignorance. As the exercise of Government requires talents and abilities, and as talents and abilities cannot have hereditary descent, it is evident that hereditary succession requires a belief from man, to which his reason cannot subscribe, and which can only be established upon his ignorance ; and the more ignorant any country is, the better it is fitted for this species of Government.

On the contrary, Government in a well constituted republic requires no belief from man beyond what his reason can give. He sees the *rationale* of the whole system, its origin and its operation ; and as it is best supported when best understood, the human faculties act with boldness, and acquire, under this form of Government, a gigantic manliness.

As, therefore, each of those forms acts on a different base, the one moving freely by the aid of reason, the other by ignorance ; we have next to consider, what it is that gives motion to that species of Government which is called mixed Government, or, as it is sometimes ludicrously stiled, a Government of *this, that, and t'other*.

The moving power in this species of Government, is of necessity, Corruption. However imperfect election and representation may be in mixed Governments, they still give exercise to a greater portion of reason than is convenient to the hereditary part ; and therefore it becomes necessary to buy the reason up. A mixed Government is an imperfect every-thing, cementing and soldering the discordant parts together by corruption, to act as a whole. Mr. Burke appears highly disgusted, that France, since she had resolved on a révolution, did not adopt what he calls "*A British Constitution ;*" and the regretful manner in which he expresses himself on this occasion, implies a suspicion, that the British Constitution needed something to keep its defects in countenance.

In mixed Governments there is no responsibility ; the parts cover each other till responsibility is lost ; and the corruption which moves the machine, contrives at the same time its own escape. When it is laid down as a maxim, that *a King can do no wrong*, it places him in a state of similar security with that of

ideots and persons insane, and responsibility is out of the question with respect to himself. It then descends upon the Minister, who shelters himself under a majority in Parliament, which, by places, pensions, and corruption, he can always command; and that majority justifies itself by the same authority with which it protects the Minister. In this rotary motion, responsibility is thrown off from the parts, and from the whole.

When there is a part in a Government which can do no wrong, it implies that it does nothing; and is only the machine of another power, by whose advice and direction it acts. What is supposed to be the King in mixed Governments, is the Cabinet; and as the Cabinet is always a part of the Parliament, and the members justifying in one character what they advise and act in another, a mixed Government becomes a continual enigma; entailing upon a country, by the quantity of corruption necessary to solder the parts, the expence of supporting all the forms of Government at once, and finally resolving itself into a Government by Committee; in which the advisers, the actors, the approvers, the justifiers, the persons responsible, and the persons not responsible, are the same persons.

By this pantomimical contrivance, and change of scene and character, the parts help each other out in matters, which, neither of them singly would assume to act. When money is to be obtained, the mass of variety apparently dissolves, and a profusion of parliamentary praises passes between the parts. Each admires with astonishment the wisdom, the liberality, the disinterestedness of the other; and all of them breath a pitying sigh at the burthens of the Nation.

But in a well-constituted republic, nothing of this soldering, praising, and pitying, can take place; the representation being equal throughout the country, and complete in itself, however it may be arranged into legislative and executive, they have all one and the same natural source. The parts are not foreigners to each other, like democracy, aristocracy, and monarchy. As there are no discordant distinctions, there is nothing to corrupt by compromise, not confound by contrivance. Public measures appeal of themselves to the understanding of the Nation, and, resting on their own merits, disown any flattering application to vanity. The continual whine of

lamenting

lamenting the burden of taxes, however successfully it may be practised in mixed Governments, is inconsistent with the sense and spirit of a republic. If taxes are necessary, they are of course advantageous; but if they require an apology, the apology itself implies an impeachment. Why then is man thus imposed upon, or why does he impose upon himself?

When men are spoken of as kings and subjects, or when Government is mentioned under the distinct or combined heads of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, what is it that *reasoning* man is to understand by the terms? If there really existed in the world two or more distinct and separate *elements* of human power, we should then see the several origins to which those terms would descriptively apply: but as there is but one species of man, there can be but one element of human power; and that element is man himself. Monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, are but creatures of imagination; and a thousand such may be contrived, as well as three.

From the Revolutions of America and France, and the symptoms that have appeared in other countries, it is evident that the opinion of the world is changing with respect to systems of Government, and that revolutions are not within the compass of political calculations. The progress of time and circumstances, which men assign to the accomplishment of great changes, is too mechanical to measure the force of the mind, and the rapidity of reflection, by which revolutions are generated: All the old governments have received a shock from those that already appear, and which were once more improbable, and are a greater subject of wonder, than a general revolution in Europe would be now.

When we survey the wretched condition of man under the monarchical and hereditary systems of Government, dragged from his home by one power, or driven by another, and impoverished by taxes more than by enemies, it becomes evident that those systems are bad, and that a general revolution in the principle and construction of Governments is necessary.

What is government more than the management of the affairs of a Nation? It is not, and from its nature cannot be, the property of any particular man or family, but of the whole community, at whose expence it is supported; and
 O though

though by force or contrivance it has been usurped into an inheritance, the usurpation cannot alter the right of things. Sovereignty, as a matter of right, appertains to the Nation only, and not to any individual; and a Nation has at all times an inherent indefeasible right to abolish any form of Government it finds inconvenient, and establish such as accords with its interest, disposition, and happiness. The romantic and barbarous distinction of men into Kings and subjects, though it may suit the condition of courtiers, cannot that of citizens; and is exploded by the principle upon which Governments are now founded. Every citizen is a member of the Sovereignty, and, as such, can acknowledge no personal subjection; and his obedience can be only to the laws.

When men think of what Government is, they must necessarily suppose it to possess a knowledge of all the objects and matters upon which its authority is to be exercised. In this view of Government, the republican system, as established by America and France, operates to embrace the whole of a Nation; and the knowledge necessary to the interest of all the parts, is to be found in the center, which the parts by representation form: But the old Governments are on a construction that excludes knowledge as well as happiness; Government by Monks, who know nothing of the world beyond the walls of a Convent, is as consistent as Government by Kings.

What were formerly called Revolutions, were little more than a change of persons, or an alteration of local circumstances. They rose and fell like things of course, and had nothing in their existence or their fate that could influence beyond the spot that produced them. But what we now see in the world, from the Revolutions of America and France, are a renovation of the natural order of things, a system of principles as universal as truth and the existence of man, and combining moral with political happiness and national prosperity.

‘ I. *Men are born and always continue free, and equal in respect of their rights. Civil distinctions, therefore, can be founded only on public utility.*

‘ II. *The end of all political associations is the preservation of the natural and imprescriptible rights of man; and these rights are liberty, property, security, and resistance of oppression.*

‘ III. *The nation is essentially the source of all Sovereignty;*
‘ *nor*

‘ nor can any INDIVIDUAL, or ANY BODY OF MEN, be entitled to any authority which is not expressly derived from it.’

In these principles, there is nothing to throw a Nation into confusion by inflaming ambition. They are calculated to call forth wisdom and abilities, and to exercise them for the public good, and not for the emolument or aggrandizement of particular descriptions of men or families. Monarchical sovereignty, the enemy of mankind, and the source of misery, is abolished; and sovereignty itself is restored to its natural and original place, the Nation. Were this the case throughout Europe, the cause of wars would be taken away.

It is attributed to Henry the Fourth of France, a man of an enlarged and benevolent heart, that he proposed, about the year 1610, a plan for abolishing war in Europe. The plan consisted in constituting a European Congress, or as the French Authors stile it, a Pacific Republic; by appointing delegates from the several Nations, who were to act as a Court of arbitration in any disputes that might arise between nation and nation.

Had such a plan been adopted at the time it was proposed, the taxes of England and France, as two of the parties, would have been at least ten millions sterling, annually to each Nation less than they were at the commencement of the French Revolution.

To conceive a cause why such a plan has not been adopted, (and that instead of a Congress for the purpose of *preventing* war, it has been called only to *terminate* a war, after a fruitless expence of several years) it will be necessary to consider the interest of Governments as a distinct interest to that of Nations.

Whatever is the cause of taxes to a Nation, becomes also the means of revenue to a Government. Every war terminates with an addition of taxes, and consequently with an addition of revenue; and in any event of war, in the manner they are now commenced and concluded, the power and interest of Governments are increased. War, therefore, from its productiveness, as it easily furnishes the pretence of necessity for taxes and appointments to places and offices, becomes a principal part of the system of old Governments; and to establish any mode to abolish war, however advantageous it might

might be to Nations, would be to take from such Government the most lucrative of its branches. The frivolous matters upon which war is made, shew the disposition and avidity of Governments to uphold the system of war, and betray the motives upon which they act.

Why are not Republics plunged into war, but because the nature of their Government does not admit of an interest distinct to that of the Nation? Even Holland, though an ill-constituted Republic, and with a commerce extending over the world, existed nearly a century without war: and the instant the form of Government was changed in France, the republican principles of peace and domestic prosperity and œconomy arose with the new Government; and the same consequences would follow the same causes in other Nations.

As war is the system of Government on the old construction, the animosity which Nations reciprocally entertain, is nothing more than what the policy of their Governments excite, to keep up the spirit of the system. Each Government accuses the other of perfidy, intrigue, and ambition, as a means of heating the imagination of their respective Nations, and incensing them to hostilities. Man is not the enemy of man, but through the medium of a false system of Government. Instead, therefore, of exclaiming against the ambition of Kings, the exclamation should be directed against the principle of such Governments; and instead of seeking to reform the individual, the wisdom of a Nation should apply itself to reform the system.

Whether the forms and maxims of Governments which are still in practice, were adapted to the condition of the world at the period they were established, is not in this case the question. The older they are, the less correspondence can they have with the present state of things. Time, and change of circumstances and opinions, have the same progressive effect in rendering modes of Government obsolete, as they have upon customs and manners. Agriculture, commerce, manufactures, and the tranquil arts, by which the prosperity of Nations is best promoted, require a different system of Government, and a different species of knowledge to direct its operations, to what might have been the former condition of the world.

As it is not difficult to perceive, from the enlightened state of mankind, that hereditary Governments are verging to their decline, and that Revolutions on the broad basis of national sovereignty, and Government by representation, are making their way in Europe, it would be an act of wisdom to anticipate their approach, and produce Revolutions by reason and accommodation, rather than commit them to the issue of convulsions.

From what we now see, nothing of reform in the political world ought to be held improbable. It is an age of Revolutions, in which every thing may be looked for. The intrigue of Courts, by which the system of war is kept up, may provoke a confederation of Nations to abolish it: and a European Congress, to patronize the progress of free Government, and promote the civilization of Nations with each other, is an event nearer in probability, than once were the revolutions and alliance of France and America.

F I N I S.

1845
The first of the year was a very dry one, and the
winter was very cold. The snow was very deep,
and the ice was very thick. The spring was very
early, and the summer was very hot. The autumn
was very dry, and the winter was very cold.

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To the Honorable the SENATE and HOUSE OF
REPRESENTATIVES of the UNITED STATES OF
AMERICA, in CONGRESS assembled,

✓
*The Memorial and Remonstrance of the PUBLIC
CREDITORS, who are Citizens of the Common-
wealth of Pennsylvania, by their Committee duly
appointed, instructed, and authorized,*

Most respectfully shew,

THAT your Memorialists, flattered by the
honorable professions of the late Congress,
animated by the recent establishment of an efficient
government, and, above all, impressed with the
peculiar justice of their claims, fondly conceived,
that, at this period, an adequate provision for the
Public Debt, could not be liable to any objection,
nor exposed to any difficulty; except, perhaps,
upon a choice of the means, by which that end
could be most advantageously attained. The pain-
ful contemplation of past calamities had, therefore,
yielded to an eager anticipation of happier times;
and your Memorialists perceived, with confidence
and exultation, that those Citizens had been select-
ed, to give a stamp and value to the principles of
the Federal Constitution, from whose feelings the
patriotic

patriotic victims of the war might expect some sympathy, and from whose integrity they could apprehend no wrong.

Nor were these sentiments affected by the Report, which the Secretary of the Treasury addressed to the Honorable House of Representatives, upon the subject of the Public Debt. That instrument, indeed, contained, in itself, a full and solemn recognition of all that was asserted, and of all that could be hoped, by the Creditors of the Union; and, therefore, however incongruous its different parts appeared, your Memorialists readily presumed, that the Legislative Body of a nation, emerging from embarrassments that had been chiefly produced by the loss of credit, would rather pursue the salutary and immutable precepts of justice, which are delivered in the introduction, than adopt the novel and precarious speculations that are enumerated in the sequel of the Report: The rule of justice being clearly ascertained, no one ventured to predict a deviation; and the rights of the Public Creditor being explicitly acknowledged, gratitude forbade that his necessity should be made the instrument to destroy them.

But the controversy which afterwards arose in your Honorable Houses, gave a new complexion to the scene: For, when the services by which your Memorialists had contributed to the national freedom and independence, seemed to be forgotten by those who could best attest them; when they found that the tedious sufferings to which they had been exposed, in consequence of their zealous patriotism, did not, with proportionate warmth, excite your sensibility and regard; and when they heard, with equal sorrow and surprize, that to *their claim alone*
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the common measure of justice was denied, the grateful prospect, which the indulgence of a reasonable hope had presented to their view, was again overshadowed and obscured; and no ray of consolation was left to penetrate the gloom, since the government, in acquiring the power, had apparently lost the disposition, to reimburse the aids, and compensate the toils, of the faithful, though antiquated and impoverished, servants of the Union.

In a free country, every Citizen participates in the reputation and the well-being of the government; and hence the constitutional title to remonstrate against such public acts, as are injurious to the interests of the People, or derogatory to the honor of the nation. In the character, therefore, of Citizens who are anxious for the prosperity of their Country, as well as in the character of injured men, who have endeavoured to deserve her thanks, your Memorialists presume to address your Honorable Body upon this important occasion, and to claim a candid attention, while they assert their rights, and deprecate the fatal consequences of a violation of the Public Faith.

The moral and political obligation of Contracts, has, indeed, furnished a theme for the Philosophers who have instructed, and a rule for the Statesmen who have governed mankind, in every age, and in every country. The faith of nations, like the credit of individuals, has not only been deemed the criterion of their virtue, but the instrument of their opulence and their power: And so fixed and sacred a character is given to this palladium of political prosperity, that every arbitrary attempt, in any degree, to change the aspect, or to divert the operation of a public contract, must be as fatal, as a natural
deficiency

deficiency of resource, or an original depravity of sentiment. Nor is it by direct and coercive means alone, that the purity of national honor may be sullied and destroyed. Few men are weak enough to deny the importance of public credit; and fewer still, in opposition to the present habits and opinions of the world, are bold enough to assail it with the naked arm of force. Hence it is, that, in every instance of a modern violation of the engagements of government, some plausible pretext, or some insidious lure, has always been suggested, to ensnare the unwary, or to captivate the necessitous. But the refinement of such arts cannot palliate the motives in which they originate, nor avert the consequences that are invariably produced: For, justice, regarding the substance, not the form, will hardly discriminate between the act, by which, in the plenitude of power, a well founded claim is peremptorily rejected; and that, by which, through the medium of penury and fear, an unreasonable concession is clandestinely obtained.

Under the impression of these opinions, your Memorialists are deeply afflicted, when they contemplate the late Act of Congress, which bears the title of "An Act making provision for the debt of the United States:" For, if (as the Secretary of the Treasury has, likewise, remarked) the maintenance of Public Credit depends upon good faith, and a punctual performance of contracts, it is submitted, with great deference, to your Honorable Body, upon what foundation the arrangements made in respect to the Domestic Debt of the United States, can fairly be included in that essential definition. It is true, that the law has not expressly extinguished the rights of the Domestic Creditors;

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nor does it, in form, annul the solemn obligations of the Union; but your Memorialists appeal to the candor of those whom they address, when they assert, that the discrimination between the claims of Citizens and of Foreigners; the partial provision for the subscribers to the proposed loan; and the arbitrary exchange of the Certificates of non-subscribers, before the principal debt is ready to be discharged; are manifest infractions of the original Contract, inconsistent with its nature, and destructive of its principles.

Permit your Memorialists here, in a short but interesting retrospect, to remind your Honorable Body of the circumstances under which they advanced to the relief of their Country; and of the sense which your illustrious Predecessors entertained of the Public Obligation—At the darkest period of the American contest, when the exertions of the enemy increased, and the public revenues became greatly insufficient for the exigencies of the Union, the hope of government rested on the spirit and patriotism of individuals; and every art of solicitation, every mode of assurance, were employed, to obtain confidence and support. With each new necessity, a new expedient was devised. Thus, having obtained one loan at a low interest, on the occasion of a further supply, the annual interest (for the payment of which, as well as the principal, upon the first, and every succeeding, loan, the faith of the United States was solemnly pledged) by the Resolution of Congress of the twenty-sixth of February, 1777, was voluntarily raised from four to six per cent: And, when it was again necessary to invite the aid of private contributions, that interest, by a Resolution of the tenth of September following, was made payable in Bills of Exchange on the Commissioners

Commissioners of the United States at Paris, or in Continental Bills of Credit, at the option of the respective lenders. Additional encouragement for promoting loans, was likewise offered in the Resolutions of the eleventh and twenty-ninth of June, and of the sixth of October, 1779: And on the twenty-eighth of June, 1780, a scale of Depreciation was framed to ascertain the principal stock of the Subscribers, according to the respective periods of subscription; with a proviso, however, (which was confirmed by several subsequent Resolutions of Congress) that the same interest should be allowed on Certificates taken out before the first of March, 1778, until the principal, ascertained as aforesaid, be ready to be discharged. It is a remark, indeed, of great importance at this time, that, to furnish a full and satisfactory security for the just and punctual payment of the stipulated interest, was, in a pecuniary point of view, the sole and uniform foundation, however diversified, or enlarged, with a change of circumstances, upon which Congress built the expectation of rendering the private fortunes of the Citizens, subservient to the general purposes of the Union: And, accordingly, that Honorable Body, in their Resolution of the fifteenth of January, 1784, with great candor and propriety declare, that “their inability to discharge the interests according to the promise, does not dissolve the same, but that the Creditors are justly entitled to an equivalent.”

When, however, the state of the national affairs is remembered; when the doubtful aspect of the war, the depreciation of the Continental emissions of paper money, and the reiterated breaches of the public promises, are considered; your Memorialists trust, that more liberal motives, than those of a pecuniary nature,

nature will be found to have influenced their conduct. If the mere security of their property was an object, would they have assigned it to a government, whose very existence was insecure? Or, if the accumulation of profit was alone in view, would they, while commerce multiplied her avenues to wealth; while speculation invited to sudden greatness; and while the most responsible landholders were eager to borrow;—would they have exacted from the tarnished faith of a feeble Confederation, nothing more than the customary premium, where the security is undeniable, and every idea of hazard is removed? Congress were well aware, indeed, of the disadvantage to which, on this ground, the Union was exposed; and, therefore, they resorted to those pathetic appeals, that were so often addressed to the virtuous pride and patriotic passions of the People, as the most effectual instrument in obtaining voluntary aids, for the cause of liberty and independence. The language of that day stands perpetuated on the records of your Honorable Body;—it still vibrates on the feelings of your Memorialists: But the effect of this Remonstrance can alone decide, whether they shall rejoice in having yielded to its persuasion, or be doomed, with their posterity, to deprecate the hour that it was heard, and to lament the fatal infatuation which it produced.

Upon terms, maturely considered, and unequivocally proposed, by Congress; and with an anxious desire to prop the tottering fabric of independence, your Memorialists thus became the Creditors of the Union. But, whatever risque they were willing to incur as to the event of the contest, however satisfied, upon the altar of freedom, to
sacrifice

sacrifice the present pleasures of affluence, such considerations, though calculated to raise the public gratitude, could never be allowed to impair the public obligation. No Contract was ever more clearly defined, or more solemnly ratified; no Contract was ever founded upon a better, or more valuable, consideration; and, on the part of a distressed Government, no Contract could ever be more propitious in its origin, or more beneficial in its consequences. If, therefore, the honest Public Creditor is now to be deprived of his rights and property; if the principle, on which he consented to supply the wants of the Union, is, at this period, to be warped to his disadvantage, let it be announced, as a policy hitherto unknown among nations, that the accomplishment of peace and security, is, in itself, a release from the engagements which were formed during a state of danger and adversity; or, to use a different mode of expression, that the very enjoyment of success, justifies a callous disregard of the means by which it was obtained.

Far different, however, were the sentiments entertained by your ever-honored Predecessors. Conscious, as they acknowledge in their Resolutions of the twenty-second of November, 1777, and the twenty-sixth of May, 1779, that “they had raised all the necessary supplies on the Public faith;” that “signal advantages had arisen from the establishment of Continental Loan Offices, on which they continued to place a great dependence;” and that, “from time to time, they had repeatedly and earnestly solicited the loan of money on the faith of the United States;” in contemplating the debt that was by such means accumulated, they
invariably

invariably endeavoured to enforce the excellent precept contained in the latter Resolution, that, “ as the rules of justice are most pleasing to our infinitely good and gracious Creator, and an adherence to them most likely to obtain his favor, so they will ever be found to be the best and safest maxims of human policy.” Thus, in the celebrated Circular Letter, unanimously adopted and published by a Resolution of Congress, of the thirteenth of September, 1779, a comprehensive view is taken of the state of the Public credit and Finances: the ability of the Union to discharge her engagements, depending on the success of the Revolution, and the natural resources of the country, is satisfactorily discussed; the force of the national obligation is clearly demonstrated; and, at that season of public virtue and calamity, the question, “ whether there was any reason to apprehend a wanton violation of the public faith, involving in it a doubt so injurious to the honor and dignity of America,” was hardly considered worthy of a single animadversion. Congress (to speak in their own inimitable language) “ would not pay so ill a compliment to the understanding and honor of every true American, as to adduce many arguments to shew the baseness or bad policy of violating our national faith, or omitting to pursue the measures necessary to preserve it:” They treated “ a bankrupt faithless Republic, as a novelty in the political world, which would appear among reputable nations, like a common prostitute among chaste and respectable matrons:” They urged, that “ the pride of America revolted at the idea:” They believed, that, “ apprized of the consequences, knowing the value of national character, and impressed with a due sense of the immutable laws of justice and honor, it was impossible she should think without horror

horror of such an execrable deed:" And, in a strain of noble enthusiasm, they exclaimed, " Let it never be said, that America had no sooner become independent. than she became insolvent; or, that her infant glories and growing fame were obscured and tarnished by broken Contracts and violated Faith, in the very hour when all the nations of the earth were admiring, and almost adoring, the splendor of her rising!"

But the zeal of Congress was not confined, at that time, to a mere investigation of the principles of justice, or an eloquent display of the indissoluble connection between Public Faith and Public Happiness. The ambition of that wise and virtuous Body, (upon whom the arduous task had devolved, of raising armies without revenue; of inspiring credit where only jealousy and distrust could reasonably be supposed to exist; and of preserving the dignity of a sovereign character with the scanty powers delegated by the Confederation) extended far beyond the theory to the practice of right: And, therefore, having declared to their Constituents the necessity of being just. they could deem their duty but partially performed. till they had, likewise, pointed out the manner in which justice might be done. For this purpose, the proposition of the five per cent. impost was submitted to the several states, as a matter "indispensably necessary to the restoration of the Public Credit, and to the punctual and honorable discharge of the Public Debts." That memorable Act, indeed; and the address which accompanied it, (however unsuccessful in their immediate design) furnish a monument of political honor, truth, and wisdom, which has never been excelled, and has rarely been imitated, in the
history

history of Governments. On their own account, Congress claimed no enlargement of jurisdiction; for, they only required that the means of discharging the National faith, which they were before authorized to pledge, might be more effectually ascertained; nor did they seek their own aggrandisement and emolument; for, all the duties, arising from the system which they proposed, were expressly and exclusively appropriated, to "the discharge of the interest or principal of the debts, contracted on the faith of the United States, for supporting the war." This alone was "the object, of which the Address presumes the necessity would be peculiarly felt," and which "Congress thought it was peculiarly incumbent on them to inculcate." "The magnitude of the debt made no part of the question," in their contemplation; for, they thought "it sufficient that the debt had been fairly contracted, and that justice and good faith demand that it should be fairly discharged:" And when, indeed, they condescended to obviate the objections of the State of Rhode-Island to their plan, they did not hesitate to pronounce, that "the omission to provide a fund for the discharge of the principal and interest of the Public Debt, would be the deepest ingratitude and cruelty to a large number of meritorious individuals, who, in the most critical periods of the war, had adventured their fortunes in support of our Independence: It would stamp the national character with indelible disgrace."

Such, then, was the Public Contract, and such were the sentiments which the late Congress entertained of its force and consequence: And upon your Honorable Body the obligation of that Contract is now, inviolably, imposed, by the paramount authority

authority of the constitution, from which you derive your political existence. For, those who deliberately prescribed the conditions of the loan, and those who lawfully pledged the faith of the Union, having thus furnished an unequivocal interpretation of the nature and extent of their engagement; the new Frame of Government, which declares, that "All debts contracted, and engagements entered into, before its adoption, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation," has only in this respect, assigned to you the exercise of a ministerial office, with competent powers, to provide the means of discharging that debt, the validity of which is already incontrovertibly established; and its terms irrevocably placed beyond the touch of legislation. The common maxims of justice prove, indeed, that, in a state superior to bankruptcy. there can be no alternative, but absolute payment of the loan, or unqualified acquiescence in the conditions upon which it was made. If ever the origin of a debt could impair the right to payment; if ever the amount could justify an arbitrary reduction; or, if the circumstances of a country could at all be pleaded in extenuation of a breach of faith, France, instead of returning the lesson of liberty which America had taught her, with a splendid example of national probity and honor, might, under the specious colouring of the present crisis, have swept her dark and inscrutable load of millions into an everlasting oblivion. Great Britain, it is true, has repeatedly reduced the rate of the interest of her public debt; but when has that Kingdom, or when has any nation, however embarrassed in point of finance, or despotic in point of power, ventured to propose a measure of that
kind

kind, without the previous offer of a full and complete satisfaction of the demands of every dissenting Creditor?

Nor hitherto has the policy of America differed, upon this ground, from the enlightened policy of Europe. The right of the Public Creditors to receive the *principal* of their advances, your Honorable Predecessors have uniformly acknowledged; and even where the inexpediency, or the incapacity, of conforming to that right, has been urged, the memorable reply to the objections of the State of Rhode-Island (in unison with many other Resolutions) observes, that “the next object is to fund the debt, and render the evidence of it negotiable.” With respect, likewise, to the *interest* upon those advances, the Resolution of the fifteenth of January, 1784, which has been already alluded to, avows, that the public inability to discharge the interest punctually, works no dissolution of their promise; and, in the very sentence, of the Circular Letter, of the twenty-sixth of April, 1783, in which Congress contemplate a reduction of the rate of six per cent. their hope is honorably founded upon this anticipation alone, that, “if the funds be so firmly constituted as to inspire a thorough and universal confidence, the capital of the Domestic Debt, may be cancelled by *other loans*, obtained at a more moderate interest.” But to alter, infringe, and new-model, the original agreement; to seduce the needy Creditor into an abandonment of a part of his right, in order to obtain the enjoyment of the rest; or, in short, to regulate the ballance, of Public justice, by the uncontrollable will of Public power; were practices happily unknown to the administration of the former Congress:

gress: And when your Memorialists reflect, that the prohibition, which restrains the several States “from passing any law impairing the obligation of Contracts,” derives its real weight and virtue from a higher, and more universal, source, than social compacts, or positive institutions—from the pure fountains of religion and morality—they are willing to believe that your Honorable Body (whose example must ever be of great importance in guiding the constituent members of the Union) will eventually demonstrate, that you are as sensible of its political importance, as those who introduced it into the Frame of Government; and as effectually guided by its benign influence, as those, to whom, by a form of words, it has been more particularly applied. But, for the present, they cannot hesitate to complain of the subsisting Act of Congress, making provision for the debt of the Union, as an unnecessary dereliction of the public faith; as a striking contrast to the illustrious example of your Predecessors; and as a dangerous infraction of the fundamental laws of justice.

This Act of Congress, your Memorialists have already observed, does not expressly extinguish the rights of the Domestic Creditor; but they now beg leave respectfully to enquire, upon what equitable or natural discrimination, those rights are attacked by overtures of a partial payment, and cramped by provisions of an inadequate extent, while the claims of Foreign Creditors are admitted in the fullest latitude, and funded on the broadest basis, of the original stipulation? The same common faith of the United States, with similar solemnities, was pledged to the *Domestic*, and to the *Foreign*, Creditor; the language was as forcible,
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the meaning as clear, and the consideration as valuable, in the contract with the former, as in the contract with the latter; and, if the rule of justice is indeed immutable, if it differs not with a difference of person, or of place, the equal degree of confidence, which both classes had reposed in the honor and resources of the nation, was entitled to an equal share of national gratitude and consideration. Will it be said then, that the character of the creditor, is lost in the character of the subject; or, that the interests of a stranger are more sacred, than the interests of a citizen? There is this distinction, indeed, that every Creditor, who is also a subject, is bound proportionally to contribute, as well to the payment of his own demand, as to the payment of the debt due to Foreigners, which is not a reciprocal obligation; but, in every other respect, they surely stand upon the same footing; the citizen must be, according to the terms of the contract, as completely vested, as the alien, with all the privileges and immunities that belong to a party; and it is only in the light of a party, that the government can, upon such occasions, consider or protect the interests of either.

But, contrary to the new-born notions of the present policy, it was the opinion of the venerable Franklin in his letter to the late Congress, dated at Passy the twenty-third of December, 1782 (on opinion resulting from long experience and undoubted wisdom) that “the foundation for credit abroad, should be laid at home:” And, in every commercial country, the mutual dependence of domestic and foreign credit, is almost proverbially acknowledged. It will be in vain, therefore, to

attempt to restore the reputation of American faith, by any provision, that is not commensurate with all her contracts and engagements. For, though, in this instance, the Foreign Creditors will suffer no actual injury, they will certainly have cause, in their subsequent transactions with the United States, for jealousy and suspicion: And, whatever may be the future exigencies of the government, however anxious she may be to obtain assistance and relief, it will be discovered, when, perhaps, the error is irretrievably committed, that the same act, by which every hope of internal contribution was voluntarily cut off, has, likewise, operated, with unintended force, to turn aside the streams of external confidence and succour. The doctrine of discrimination was justly condemned, indeed, when directed to another object; but, what reason precluded its reception in the case of the speculative purchaser of certificates, that does not, with superior energy, deny its application here? That its principle would be alike unjust, the preceding arguments are calculated to evince; and that its execution would be alike difficult, must be sufficiently obvious in a moment's reflection upon the multiplicity, and the circuitry, of modes, by which the claims of Domestic Creditors, may have been legally transferred to Foreigners. This consequence, however, will probably ensue, that a new scene of speculation being opened, and the Citizen being under greater temptation to sell the evidence of his claim to an alien, than to subscribe to the proposed loan, the public will be deprived of even the miserable consolation which might be expected, in reaping the profit that arises from the sacrifice of the poor and the oppressed Domestic Creditor.

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Your Memorialists mean not by these observations to convey to your Honorable Body, the slightest idea of dissatisfaction, or reproach, for the part which you have acted in favor of the Foreign Creditors. Adversity has naturally prepared their feelings for a sense of compassion; and the pride of patriotism has taught them to despise the suggestions of envy: But, while they can rejoice in the good fortune of others, or applaud whatever is honorable in their rulers, they may reasonably be allowed to lament their own hard condition, and to complain of the measure by which it is unnecessarily occasioned. The comparative statement of the Domestic claims with those of Foreign Creditors, extends not, therefore, any farther than to establish, that, however different in their treatment, there is no difference in the origin, or in the obligation, of the respective Contracts: And your Memorialists are happy, that, having already shewn the general nature and extent of the public debt, from the express declarations of your Predecessors, they are again able to appeal to the records, which are now deposited in the archives of your Honorable Body, to demonstrate and sanctify the truth and equity of this latter position. “ If other motives than that of justice could be requisite on this occasion, no nation could ever feel stronger; for to whom (it is asked in the Circular Letter of the twenty-sixth of April, 1783) are the debts to be paid?” And, in answering this emphatical question, no invidious preference, no arbitrary distinction of right, will be found in the language, or the sentiments, of Congress, between “ the Ally, who to the exertion of his arms in support of the American cause, has added the succours of his treasure;” or, “ individuals in a foreign country, who were the first

to give so precious a token of their confidence;” and those classes of Creditors, into which your Memorialists may be fairly divided;—“ the illustrious and patriotic band of Fellow Citizens, whose blood and whose bravery have defended the liberties of their country;” and “ such Fellow Citizens as originally lent to the Public the use of their funds; such as have manifested most confidence in their country by receiving transfers from the lenders; or such whose property has been either advanced, or assumed, for the Public service.” In this view of the subject, the provision made for the Foreign Creditors, is a tacit admission of the rights of every other class; and it has been rendered a topic of animadversion, only as it furnishes an irrefragable argument, to vindicate the propriety of the present remonstrance.

The partial provision that is made for the subscribers to the proposed loan, however masked in the complications of calculation, or decorated with an adventitious glare of candor, is still, in the humble opinion of your Memorialists, the mere offspring of that invidious spirit of discrimination, which your Predecessors, with manly frankness, reprobated and disclaimed; and which your Honorable Body deigned to resist and repel, when presented to your view in all its native deformity, without colouring and disguise. Is there a man, who has read the annals of the American Revolution,—is there a man, who has witnessed the wonderful succession of events, by which it was accomplished—that hesitates in avowing, that the brave soldier, the original lender of money, and the actual contributor of supplies, ought to be rewarded, reimbursed, and compensated, according to the highest expectations,

expectations, which the promises of Government had raised? Is it not, therefore, to be apprehended, that the pursuit of some collateral purpose, has deafened the ear to the dictates of justice, or hardened the heart to the sensations of gratitude, when claims so honorably founded, and so universally acknowledged, are canvassed without favor, and curtailed without necessity? Hence it is, that your Memorialists conceive, that the apparent injustice, and the incidental impracticability of discriminating between the original Creditor, and the assignee of a Public security, have led your Honorable Body to an expedient, more simple indeed, but not less cruel and oppressive. For, it seems, that, in order, at all events, to abridge the suspected profits of speculation, the Act of Congress, instead of resorting to the sacred rights of the original Creditor, which could furnish the only perfect basis for a system of satisfaction, or liquidation, has evidently drawn the criterion of a provision for the Public Debt, from a vague and delusive hypothesis, respecting the ideal extortion, and presumptive gains, of the Purchasers of Certificates: And thus, those services, which bear the attestation of the world, and those debts, which every good and every wise man would cheerfully contribute to discharge, must fall a sacrifice to a jealous opposition against claims of another description, that are not, perhaps, as meritorious on the principal of patriotism, but are certainly as obligatory in the eye of justice.

For those, who were really Speculators in the Public funds, the present provision appears, indeed, to be alone intended; since they alone can, in any degree, afford, to accede to so unreasonable a composition. The man who passed the most precious
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period of his life in toiling for the Public; or, he who originally staked his fortune on the faith of national obligations, never hoped from chance to reap a benefit, greater than he conferred; and ought never to accept from power a compensation, less than he has earned. And here, let it be remembered, that, at the time of advancing their funds to the Public, many of your Memorialists were indebted to the Merchants in Europe, as well as to their Fellow Citizens in America; and many, on the assurance and prospect of a just settlement of their Public claims, have since borrowed, from strangers or from friends, the means of supporting their families. The procrastination of national justice, however, has already consigned a considerable number of this description of Public creditors to bankruptcy and despair; and there is too much reason to apprehend, that the result of the late deliberations of your Honorable Body, will inevitably involve those who have hitherto escaped, in all the horrors of a similar fate, when it is considered, that the private debts, to which your Memorialists have alluded, are, likewise, subject to the accumulation of interest; that the only resource for discharging those debts depended on the strictest performance of the public engagement; and that the patience of the persons to whom they are due, must be additionally shaken by the encreasing danger of a loss. While, indeed, the funds of your Memorialists were in the hands of the Public, they could neither profit by the exercise of their industry; nor, if they had been so disposed, could they employ the legal opportunity of a tender in depreciated paper to retaliate upon others, the advantage which many of their debtors had cruelly taken of them

them. In short, as it is not in the power of one individual to impose upon another, those modifications of contract. or to exact those diminutions of emolument, in which a Government may sometimes please to display its omnipotence to its subjects; whither, in the hour of their persecution and calamity, shall your Memorialists fly for shelter and support? Reflect—they implore your Honorable Body deeply to reflect—that nothing more is asked than was promised; nothing more is required from you, than could always have been obtained upon the security of private loans; that the Public creditor has already been sufficiently mortified and tortured by delays and disappointments; that the payment of his whole demand at this late hour will be insufficient to answer the exigencies of his situation, or to restore him to the level with his Fellow Citizens, who have not advanced their fortunes to the Government; and that in refusing the payment, you will, in effect, refuse to the veteran and the patriot, the reward of their labours and fidelity; to the unprotected orphan, the price of his patrimony; and to the solitary widow, the melancholy commutation of her husband's blood.

The pride, the interest, and the wants of the Public Creditor, thus forbid his acquiescence in the conditions of the proposed loan; and even the limited participation, to which he is invited, in the scanty provision made for those who shall subscribe to it, is, in many instances, collaterally barred, by the previous exchange of certificates, that is rendered necessary to enjoy it. Thus, by a resolution of the late Congress, of the twenty-eighth of June, 1780, it is declared, “that interest on all loan-office certificates, at the rate of six per cent. per annum, computed

computed on the principal ascertained, agreeably to the rule there prescribed, shall be discharged annually, in like manner as the principal, until the principal shall be paid; provided, nevertheless, *that the same interest, and mode of payment, of certificates taken out before the first day of March, 1778, shall be continued as at present, until the principal, ascertained as aforesaid, shall be ready to be discharged:* And the interpretation of this Resolution, upon a former application in behalf of your Memorialists, was explicitly given by Congress on the fifteenth of January, 1784, when they resolved, “ that the interest which has, or may, become due on loan-office certificates, bearing date between the first day of September, 1777, and the first day of March, 1778, is not subjected to any depreciation.” If, therefore, the holders of Public securities of this description, in order to entitle themselves to a payment in proportion with the subscribers to the loan, shall, according to the regulations of the Act of Congress, voluntarily “ produce their respective certificates to the commissioners to the end, that the same may be cancelled and other certificates issued in lieu thereof; which new certificates shall specify *the specie* amount of those in exchange for which they are given, and shall be otherwise of the like tenor with those heretofore issued by the Register of the Treasury, for the registered debt, and shall be transferrable on the like principles with those directed to be issued on account of the subscription to the loan proposed”—then is it obvious, in the view of your Memorialists, that the faith of the above Resolutions, which is pledged for the payment of interest upon the nominal amount of such original certificates, till the specie value of the principal is ready to be discharged, will be effectually exonerated; the evidence of the claim will be
totally

totally merged and extinguished; and the Public creditor, as the new certificate carries an interest only on the specie value which it expresses, and not upon the nominal amount of the certificate for which it is exchanged, is obliged to make a sacrifice of the important difference in the sum, merely to obtain a temporary accommodation—a transient alleviation of his distress.

Far be it from your Memorialists to impute to your Honorable Body an intention to sport with their calamities, or to beguile them of their rights: But they pray you to consider well, how it will appear to men, and to nations, less convinced of the purity of your designs, less conversant with the general probity of your actions, that the same law, which solemnly enacts, “that nothing therein contained shall be construed in any wise to alter, abridge or impair the rights of the Creditors of the United States, who shall not subscribe to the loan, or the contracts upon which their respective claims are founded;” that the same law that adds to this, a formal declaration, that “such creditors shall not be excluded from a participation in the benefit, intended to the Creditors of the United States in general;” has yet exacted a surrender of a part of those rights, as an indispensable preliminary to the enjoyment of that benefit! Will it not be denominated another appeal from justice to necessity—will it not be thought another violation of faith, under the delusive semblance of candor and compassion?

Against the very foundation of the Public Debt, the present system seems, indeed, to be directed; since, notwithstanding the anxiety and perseverance with which your Predecessors made the assurance of

an adequate interest, the inducement to the various loans that were obtained, the Act of Congress renders the reduction or extinguishment of that interest, the only medium of settlement and liquidation. But, if this plan, operating with regard to the future, is inconsistent (as your Memorialists have humbly shewn) with justice and true policy, it must obviously be so, in a much greater degree, when it affects the past, and arbitrarily diminishes the amount of interest already due: For, in proposing that the arrearages of interest still payable on the several certificates, and the indents issued for a part of those arrearages, shall be funded at the rate of three, instead of six, per cent. the government (when the plea of necessity, which could alone excuse the want of punctuality, has altogether ceased) aims at depriving the Public Creditor of a sum, that ought long ago, if honor and honesty could have prevailed against the imbecility of the late Confederation, to have been in his own possession, and employed for his own emolument, as an addition to his capital.

With such obligations of justice, such ties of gratitude, and such solicitations of humanity, in favor of your Memorialists, is there any possible palliation, or excuse, for an attempt to undermine the engagements of the late Congress; and to wrest from the ancient servants and creditors of their country, the stipulated equivalent for their labours and their loans? That the contract has been so long suspended can surely be no reason for farther delay; that it has been, in some respects, broken or infringed, is no justification for other infractions; and that an embarrassed and impotent Confederation (with the most honorable wishes and intentions) has occasionally, been driven to the use of temporizing expedients, can form no precedent to
warrant

warrant a powerful and unmolested Government, in the adoption of a puny, partial policy. If, therefore, the resources of the Union are at all competent, your Memorialists humbly insist, that there is not any authority in existence, which can dispence with the full and faithful performance of the Public engagements: And that those resources are competent, who has been so hardy, or so ignorant, as to deny? In the most critical and disastrous period of the late contest, Congress demonstrated and published to the world, that "there was no reason to doubt the ability of the United States to pay the debt;" and will it now be said—at this bright hour of American prosperity, while the rapid cultivation of her soil, the extension of her commerce, the improvement of her arts and manufactures, the encrease of her population, and the superlative excellence of her Government, give assurance of an early and abundant harvest of national wealth—will it now be said, that her revenues are exhausted, when one source alone has been, in any degree, explored; or that, invigorated by triumph and success, she has become incapable of discharging the trifling debt, which was the honest price of her boasted freedom, independence, and felicity? Such ideas, your Memorialists are confident, indeed, cannot be entertained by your Honorable Body: For, the punctuality of your payments with respect to current engagements; the facility with which the pecuniary operations of the Government are conducted; and, above all, the extraordinary and unexpected appropriation of a large surplus of treasure, to purchase, not to pay, the Public Debt; yield sufficient evidence of your confidence in the resources of your country, as well as of its actual riches; and leave your Memorialists only to lament, that their services were performed,
their

their monies were advanced, their supplies were furnished, when, although the benefit to the Union was as great, the power of compensation was less.

Here then your Memorialists close the painful recapitulation of their sufferings, and the anxious recital of their insurmountable objections to the system, which your Honorable Body has proposed, for a commutation of the Public Debt. The difficulty, indeed, on a subject so familiar to your recollection, and so interesting to their feelings, was to reason, without a tedious repetition of former arguments, and to speak the language of freemen, without offering offence to the delicacy of their Rulers. They have shewn, however (and, they hope, in terms of sufficient humility and respect) that their rights have been clearly ascertained under the late Confederation; that, thus ascertained, they have become indefeasibly obligatory upon the present Government; but that the Act of Congress, making provision for the Public Debt, is an indirect abridgement of those rights; and that the circumstances of the country do not require, nor will its gratitude, or interest, permit, so ungenerous a disregard of the national faith and character. It only remains, therefore, to implore your Honorable Body again to examine the engagements of your Predecessors; to consider the patriotic origin of the debts of the Union; to commiserate the calamitous situation of the Public Creditors; and, finally, to determine whether the proposed visionary gain, will, in any degree, compensate the Government, for the dissatisfaction which it will occasion among the Citizens; the distrust which it will excite among Foreigners; and the ~~disgrace~~ *in* which it will involve the fame and glory of the Revolution.

Protestant Episcopal Church in the U.S.A.

JOURNAL

OF THE

MEETINGS,

WHICH LED TO THE INSTITUTION OF A

CONVENTION

OF THE

Protestant Episcopal Church

IN THE

STATE OF *PENNSYLVANIA*:

TOGETHER WITH THE

JOURNALS

OF THE

FIRST SIX CONVENTIONS

OF THE SAID CHURCH.

PHILADELPHIA:

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M.DCC.XC.



JOURNAL

OF THE

CONVENTION

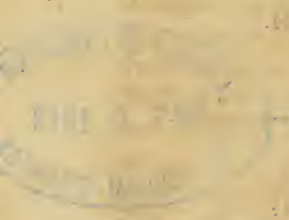
Protestant Episcopal Church

OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK

JOURNAL

FIRST SIX CONVENTIONS

OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK



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NEW YORK: 1847.

JOURNAL, &c.

PHILADELPHIA, March 29th, 1784.

IN consequence of appointments made by the vestry of Christ-Church and St. Peter's, and by the vestry of St. Paul's, Mr. William Pollard, deputy from Christ-Church, Mr. John Chaloner, from St. Peter's, Mr. Lambert Wilmer and Plunket Fleeson, Esquire, deputies from St. Paul's, met the clergy of the said churches, viz. the Rev. Dr. White, the Rev. Dr. Magaw, and the Rev. Mr. Blackwell, at the house of the Rev. Dr. White, for the purpose of conferring with them, concerning the formation of a representative body of the episcopal church in this state.

The body assembled, after taking into consideration the necessity of speedily adopting measures, for the forming of a plan of ecclesiastical government for the episcopal church, were of opinion, that a subject of such importance ought to be taken up, if possible, with the general concurrence of the episcopalians in the United States. They therefore resolved to ask a conference with such members of the episcopal congregations, in the counties of this state, as were then in town; and the clergy present undertook to converse with such persons of the above description, as they could find, and to request their meeting the body, at Christ-Church, on Wednesday evening, at 7 o'clock.

Adjourned to the same time and place.

CHRIST-CHURCH, March 31st, 1784.

The clergy and the two committees assembled, and elected the Rev. Dr. White their chairman.

Dr. Clarkson, deputed by the vestry of St. Peter's, and hitherto detained by sickness, joined the committees.

The clergy reported, that, agreeably to their promise, they had spoken to several gentlemen, who readily consented to the conference proposed.

The meeting continued some time; when it was signified to them, that several gentlemen, who had designed to attend, were detained by the unexpected sitting of the honorable House of Assembly, they being members of that House.

The Hon. James Read, Esq; attended, according to desire.

After some conversation on the business of this meeting, it was resolved, that a circular letter should be addressed to the wardens and vestrymen of the different episcopal congregations in the state; and that the same should be as follows:

G E N T L E M E N,

THE episcopal clergy in this city, together with a committee, appointed by the vestry of Christ-Church and St. Peter's, and another committee, appointed by the vestry of St. Paul's Church, in the same city, for the purpose of proposing a plan of ecclesiastical government; being now assembled, are of opinion, that a subject of such importance ought to be taken up, if possible, with the general concurrence of the episcopals in the United States.

They have therefore resolved, as preparatory to a general consultation, to request the church-wardens and vestrymen of each episcopal congregation in the state, to delegate one or more of their body, to assist at a meeting, to be held in this city, on Monday, the 24th day of May next; and such clergymen as have parochial cure in the said congregations, to attend the meetings; which they hope will contain a full representation of the episcopal church in this state. The above resolve, Gentlemen, the first step in their proceedings, they now respectfully and affectionately communicate to you.

Signed, in behalf of the body now assembled,

W. WHITE, Chairman.

Resolved, That a circular letter be sent to some one gentleman in each of the said congregations; and that copies of the same be left with the chairman, the respective directions to be supplied by him, after due enquiry; and that the letter be as follows, viz.

S I R,

THE body herein mentioned, being informed that you are a member of the episcopal church in —, and always ready to attend to its concerns, take the liberty of requesting you to deliver the enclosed.

Signed, in behalf of the said body,

W. WHITE, Chairman.

Resolved, That the letters addressed to the churches formerly included in the mission of Radnor, be inclosed under cover to the Rev. William Currie, their former pastor, and that the clergy be desired to accompany them with a letter to the said reverend gentleman, requesting his assistance at the proposed meeting.

Resolved, That as the Rev. Joseph Hutchins is the Minister of the churches formerly included in the mission of Lancaster, the circular letter be addressed to him, and not to the church-wardens and vestrymen of the said congregations.

Resolved, That it be recommended to the vestries, under whose appointments these proceedings are made, to cause the same to be read to their respective congregations on Easter-Monday, at their annual election of church-wardens and vestrymen. The chairman was empowered to call a meeting, at any time previous to Easter.

Adjourned.

At

At the House of the Rev. Dr. White, April 6th, 1784.

The clergy and committees met.

The chairman reported, that he had forwarded letters to every church, of which he could receive information; and that there were two small congregations, which were never provided with an incumbent, of which he had not yet been able to ascertain, whether they lie in Chester county, or in the state of Delaware. He was desired to make further enquiry; and, in case they should be found to be in Chester county, to invite them to the intended meeting.

The foregoing is a true journal of the proceedings of the episcopal clergy, and committees from the vestries of the episcopal churches in Philadelphia, at their different meetings.

Signed, in behalf of the said body,

W. WHITE, Chairman.

P. S. It appearing that the Rev. Mr. Illing was the minister of the episcopal church in Caernarvon and Pequea, and that the Rev. Mr. Mitchel had gathered a congregation at Fort Pitt, the clergy wrote to those gentlemen, inviting them to the meeting, together with delegates from their vestries, the committees of the two vestries being at that time dissolved by the election at Easter.

CHRIST-CHURCH, May 24th, 1784.

In consequence of a circular letter, written by the clergy and committees from the vestries of the episcopal churches in this city, sundry gentlemen assembled, at the aforesaid time and place.

P R E S E N T.

From Christ-Church and St. Peter's, Rev. William White, D. D. Rev. Robert Blackwell, Mr. Matthew Clarkson, Mr. William Pollard, Dr. Clarkson, and Mr. John Chaloner.

From St. Paul's Church, Rev. Samuel Magaw, D. D. Mr. Lambert Wilmer, and Plunket Fleeson, Esquire.

St. James's, Bristol, Mr. Christopher Menick.

Trinity-Church, Oxford, Mr. Benjamin Cottman.

All-Saints, Pemauecka, Mr. Benjamin Johnson.

St. Paul's, Chester, Dr. Wm. Currie and Mr. James Withy.

From St. David's, Radnor, Richard Willing, Esquire.

From St. Peter's, in the Valley, Mr. John Francis.

From St. Martin's, Marcus-Hook, Mr. Joseph Marshall.

Some other gentlemen being expected, the company adjourned till the next morning, 10 o'clock.

CHRIST-CHURCH, Tuesday, May 25th, 1784.

The gentlemen met, according to adjournment; present also,

From St. James's, Lancaster, Rev. Jos. Hutchins and W. Parr, Esquire.

From St. James's, Perkioming, Dr. Robert Shannon and Mr. John Bean.

From St. John's, New-London, Mr. John Wade.

From Huntington Church, York County, Mr. Joseph Folks.

The

The Rev. Dr. White was chosen chairman, and Mr. William Pollard, clerk.

The gentlemen assembled, after some conversation concerning a concurrence with their brethren in the other states, in means for the preservation of their communion, agreed to appoint a committee to consider the matter more maturely, and to report at 3 o'clock, P. M.

The committee appointed consisted of the clergy, Dr. Clarkson, Mr. Parr, Mr. Willing, Mr. Fleece and Dr. Shannon.

Resolved, That each church shall have one vote, whether represented by one or more persons; or whether two or more united congregations be represented by one man, or set of men.

Adjourned.

Three o'Clock, P. M.

The committees met.

The Hon. James Read, Esquire, from St. Mary's church, Reading, and Mr. George Douglass, from St. Gabriel's, Morlatton, in Berks county, joined the meeting.

The committee appointed in the morning reported, as follows :

" That they think it expedient to appoint a standing committee of the episcopal church in this state, consisting of clergy and laity; that the said committee be empowered to correspond and confer with representatives from the episcopal church in the other states, or any of them; and assist in framing an ecclesiastical government; that a constitution of ecclesiastical government, when framed, be reported to the several congregations, through their respective ministers, church-wardens and vestrymen, to be binding on all the congregations consenting to it, as soon as a majority of the congregations shall have consented; that a majority of the committee, or any less number by them appointed, be a quorum; that they be desired to keep minutes of their proceedings; and that they be bound by the following instructions, or fundamental principles.

First. That the episcopal church in these states is, and ought to be, independent of all foreign authority, ecclesiastical or civil.

Second. That it hath, and ought to have, in common with all other religious societies, full and exclusive powers to regulate the concerns of its own communion.

Third. That the doctrines of the gospel be maintained, as now professed by the church of England; and uniformity of worship continued, as near as may be, to the liturgy of the said church.

Fourth. That the succession of the ministry be agreeable to the usage, which requireth the three orders of bishops, priests, and deacons; that the rights and powers of the same, respectively, be ascertained; and that they be exercised, according to reasonable laws, to be duly made.

Fifth. That to make canons, or laws, there be no other authority, than that of a representative body of the clergy and laity conjointly.

Sixth. That no powers be delegated to a general ecclesiastical government, except such as cannot conveniently be exercised by the clergy and laity, in their respective congregations."

The above report, after having been considered by paragraphs, was adopted; and the committee chosen in consequence thereof were as follow : The Rev. Dr. White, the Rev. Dr. Magaw, the Rev. Mr. Hutchins, the Rev. Mr. Blackwell; Matthew Clarkson, Plunket Fleece, Richard Willing,

Willing, and the Hon. James Read, Esquires; Dr. Gerardus Clarkson, Dr. Robert Shannon, Mr. John Chaloner, and Mr. Benjamin Johnson. Then the meeting of the committees ended.

CHRIST-CHURCH, May 26th, 1784.

The standing committee of the episcopal church met for the first time; present,

Rev. Dr. White, Rev. Mr. Hutchins, Rev. Mr. Blackwell, Mr. Read, Mr. Fleson, Mr. M. Clarkson, Mr. Chaloner, Dr. Shannon, and Dr. Clarkson.

The Rev. Dr. White was elected chairman; Dr. Clarkson was chosen clerk.

Resolved, That the chairman and clerk be, and they are hereby, requested to procure three hundred copies of the minutes, under which the committee act, to be printed immediately.

Resolved, That a minute-book be provided for the committee; and that the proceedings, which led to their appointment, be copied therein.

The chairman was desired to forward a printed copy of the proceedings of the late meeting, to every congregation of the episcopal church in the state.

Adjourned.

CHRIST-CHURCH, September 1st, 1784.

The committee met, in consequence of notice from the chairman; present,

Rev. Dr. White, Rev. Dr. Magaw, Rev. Mr. Blackwell; Mr. Read, Mr. Fleson, Mr. M. Clarkson, Mr. Willing, Mr. Chaloner.

Resolved, That all the powers of this committee be, and they are hereby, conveyed to such of their members, or a majority of them, as shall be present at a meeting of clergy and others, to be held in the city of New-York, on Tuesday, the 5th of October next; these powers to continue during their stay in said city.

Resolved, That the members be directed to request of the aforesaid meeting, that Samuel Powel, Esquire, who will be in New-York on the said 5th of October, may be present at their deliberations, that the committee may receive the benefit of his advice.

Resolved, That the same request be made in favor of the Rev. John Campbell, lately settled in this state, as a clergyman, should he be at the said meeting.

Adjourned.

NEW-YORK, October 6th and 7th, 1784.

The committee assembled, agreeably to the powers vested in them by their appointment, and by the vote of the committee at their last meeting in Philadelphia; present,

Rev. Dr. White, Rev. Dr. Magaw, Matthew Clarkson, and Richard Willing, Esquires; also, by desire, Samuel Powel and Richard Peters, Esquires.

The

The committee joined in conference and deliberation with sundry clergymen and others from the episcopal church in several states; of which the following was the result.

JOURNAL of a Convention of Clergymen and Lay-deputies of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, held in New-York, October 6th and 7th, 1784.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

From Massachusetts and Rhode-Island, Rev. Samuel Parker, A. M.

Connecticut, Rev. John R. Marshall.

New-York, Rev. Samuel Provost, A. M. Rev. Abraham Beach, A. M. Rev. Benjamin Moore, A. M. Rev. Joshua Bloomer, A. M. Rev. Leonard Cutting, A. M. Rev. Thomas Moore, Hon. James Duane, Marinus Willet, and John Allop, Esquires.

New-Jersey, Rev. Uzal Ogden, Mr. Samuel Spragg, John De Hart, and John Chetwood, Esquires.

Pennsylvania, Rev. William White, D. D. Rev. Samuel Magaw, D. D. Rev. Joseph Hutchins, A. M. Matthew Clarkson, Richard Willing, Samuel Powel, and Richard Peters, Esquires.

Delaware, Rev. Sydenham Thorne, Rev. Charles Wharton, Mr. Robert Clay.

Maryland, Rev. William Smith, D. D.

N. B. The Rev. Mr. Griffith, from the state of Virginia, was present, by permission. The clergy of that state, being restricted by laws yet in force there, were not at liberty to send delegates, or consent to any alterations in the order, government, doctrine, or worship of the church.

The body now assembled recommend to the clergy and congregations of their communion in the states represented as above, and propose to those of the states not represented,—that as soon as they shall have organized or associated themselves in the states, to which they respectively belong, agreeably to such rules as they shall think proper, they unite in a general ecclesiastical constitution, on the following fundamental principles.

First. That there be a general convention of the episcopal church in the United States of America.

Second. That the episcopal church in each state send deputies to the convention, consisting of clergy and laity.

Third. That associated congregations in two or more states may send deputies jointly.

Fourth. That the said church shall maintain the doctrines of the gospel, as now held by the church of England; and shall adhere to the liturgy of the said church, as far as shall be consistent with the American revolution, and the constitutions of the respective states.

Fifth. That in every state, where there shall be a bishop duly consecrated and settled, he shall be considered as a member of the convention, *ex officio*.

Sixth. That the clergy and laity assembled in convention, shall deliberate in one body, but shall vote separately; and the concurrence of both shall be necessary to give validity to every measure.

Seventh.

Seventh. That the first meeting of the convention shall be at Philadelphia, the Tuesday before the Feast of St. Michael next; to which it is hoped and earnestly desired, that the episcopal churches in the several States will send their clerical and lay deputies, duly instructed and authorized to proceed on the necessary business, herein proposed for their deliberation.

Signed, by order of the convention,

WILLIAM SMITH, D. D. President.

Adjourned.

PHILADELPHIA, February 7th, 1785.

The committee met at the house of the Rev. Dr. White; present, the Rev. Dr. White, Rev. Dr. Magaw, Rev. Mr. Blackwell, Mr. Read, Mr. M. Clarkson, Mr. Chaloner, and Dr. Clarkson.

After due deliberation, it was

Resolved, That there be sent to every clergyman and congregation of the episcopal church in the state, an account of the proceedings of this committee, in concurrence with sundry clergymen and others, at a meeting in the city of New-York, on the 6th and 7th days of October last; that it be recommended, that the clergy, and deputies from the several congregations, assemble in Christ-Church, in this city, on Monday, the 23d day of May next, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, in order to organize the episcopal church in this state, agreeably to the intentions of the body assembled in New-York, as aforesaid; and that it be recommended to the vestries to declare, at some congregational meeting, the object of the intended meeting in May, and to propose to the congregations, to enable them to send deputies, duly authorized, to the said meeting.

Adjourned.

JOURNAL

OF THE

FIRST SIX CONVENTIONS

OF THE

Protestant Episcopal Church

IN THE

STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA.

JOURNAL of the First Convention.

PHILADELPHIA, May 23d, 1785.

IN consequence of a recommendation from sundry of the clergy and laity, assembled at New-York, October 6th and 7th, 1784, for organizing and associating the clergy and congregations of the protestant episcopal church in the different states, the following gentlemen met in Christ-Church, in the city of Philadelphia, on Monday, May 23d, at 11 o'clock, A. M.

The Rev. Dr. William White, rector of Christ-Church and St. Peter's,
Rev. Dr. Samuel Magaw, rector of St. Paul's, Rev. Robert Blackwell, assistant minister of Christ-Church and St. Peter's, Philadelphia.
Rev. Dr. William Smith, rector of All-Saints, Pemaepack, and Trinity-Church, Oxford.

Rev. Joseph Hutchins, rector of St. James's, Lancaster.

Rev. John Campbell, rector of York and Huntington churches.

Joseph Swift, Esquire, deputy from Christ-Church.

Samuel Powel, Esquire, deputy from St. Peter's.

Plunket Fleeson, Esquire, Mr. John Wood, Mr. Andrew Doz, deputies from St. Paul's.

Edward Hand, Esquire, deputy from St. James's, Lancaster.

Mr. John Francis, deputy from St. Peter's, Tredyffryn.

Mr. Nicholas Jones, deputy from St. Gabriel's, Morlatton.

Mr. Jacob Ashton, deputy from All-Saints, Pemaepack, and Trinity-Church, Oxford.

Hon. James Read, Esquire, deputy from Reading, Berks county.

The

The following gentlemen, viz. Mr. Swift, Mr. Powel, Mr. Fleeceon, Mr. Wood, Mr. Doz, Mr. Hand, Mr. Jones, and the Rev. Mr. Campbell, produced their credentials, which were read, and ordered to be recorded; after which the convention proceeded to the choice of a president and secretary; when the Rev. Dr. White was unanimously chosen president, and Mr. Powel, secretary.

Adjourned to 4 o'clock, P. M.

Four o'clock, P. M.

The convention met.

Resolved, That the President, the Rev. Dr. Magaw, the Rev. Mr. Campbell, Mr. Shippen, and Mr. Hand, be a committee, to prepare an act of association of the clergy and congregations of the protestant episcopal church in the state of Pennsylvania, who shall meet in convention.

The committee was instructed to regard the following points, as fundamentals for their proceedings, they having been unanimously agreed to by the convention.

First. That the clergy and lay-deputies vote, as two distinct orders.

Second. That a clergyman cannot vote, as the representative of his particular church; but that a lay-deputy or deputies be sent, to represent each congregation.

Third. That each congregation be entitled to a vote; and that where two congregations are united, each congregation shall be entitled to a vote, and shall send a deputy or deputies.

Fourth. That the convention meet annually, on such day as shall be declared in a law or rule, to be made by the next convention for that purpose; and that the next meeting shall be held in Christ-Church, Philadelphia, on Monday, the 22d day of May, 1786, at 11 o'clock, A. M.

Fifth. That such of the members of the convention, as are met on the day of the annual meeting, shall be a quorum; in which quorum the votes of the majority shall be decisive.

Adjourned till 11 o'clock the next morning.

CHRIST-CHURCH, May 24th, 1785.

The convention met.

Dr. Robert Shannon, deputy from St. James's, Perkioming, took his seat in the convention.

The committee appointed yesterday, to prepare an act of association of the clergy and congregations of the protestant episcopal church in the state of Pennsylvania, who shall meet in convention, reported that they had made a draught of the same; which being read, and considered by paragraphs, was agreed to, and is as follows.

"Whereas, by the late revolution, the protestant episcopal church in the United States of America is become independent of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction in England; in consequence whereof, it is necessary for the clergy and congregations of the said church to associate themselves, for maintaining uniformity in divine worship, for procuring the powers of ordination, and for establishing and maintaining a system of ecclesiastical government:

"And whereas, at a meeting of sundry clergymen and lay-deputies from sundry congregations of the protestant episcopal church in this state,

held in the city of Philadelphia, on the 25th day of May, in the year of our Lord 1784, there was appointed a committee, to confer and correspond with representatives from the church in the other states; for the purpose of constituting an ecclesiastical government, agreeably to certain instructions or fundamental principles:.

“ And whereas the said committee, being assembled in the city of New-York, on the 6th and 7th days of October, in the same year, did concur with clergymen and lay-deputies from sundry states, in proposing a convention from all the states, to be held in the city of Philadelphia, on the Tuesday before the Feast of St. Michael next ensuing, in order to unite in an ecclesiastical constitution, agreeably to certain fundamental principles expressed in the said proposal:.

“ And whereas the body, which assembled, as aforesaid, in New-York, did recommend to the church in the several states, that, previously to the said intended meeting, they should organize, or associate themselves, agreeably to such rules as they shall think proper:.

“ It is therefore hereby determined and declared by the clergy, who do now, or who hereafter shall, sign this act, and by the congregations, which do now, or which hereafter shall, consent to this act, either by its being ratified by their respective vestries, or by its being signed by their deputies duly authorized, that the said clergy and congregations shall be called and known by the name of, The protestant episcopal church in the state of Pennsylvania.

“ And it is hereby further determined and declared, by the said clergy and congregations, that there shall be a convention of the said church; which convention shall consist of all the clergy of the same, and of lay-deputies; and that all the acts and proceedings of the said convention shall be considered as the acts and proceedings of the protestant episcopal church in this state; provided always, that the same shall be consistent with the fundamental principles agreed on at the two aforesaid meetings, in Philadelphia and New-York.

“ And it is hereby further determined and declared, by the said clergy and congregations, that each congregation may send to the convention a deputy, or deputies, for each congregation; and no congregation may send a clergyman, as their deputy; and each congregation represented in convention shall have one vote.

“ And it is hereby further determined and declared by the said clergy and congregations, that the clergy and lay-deputies in convention shall deliberate in one body, but shall vote as two distinct orders; and that the concurrence of both orders shall be necessary, to give validity to every measure; and such clergymen and lay-deputies as shall, at any time, be duly assembled in convention, shall be a quorum; and on every question, the votes of a majority of those present, of the two orders respectively, shall decide.

“ And it is hereby further determined and declared, by the said clergy and congregations, that all such clergymen, as shall hereafter be settled as the ministers of the congregations ratifying this act, shall have the same privileges, and be subject to the same regulations, as the clergy now subscribing the same.

“ And it is hereby further determined and declared, by the said clergy and congregations, that the convention shall meet on Monday, the twenty-second day of May, in the year of our Lord 1786, and for ever after, on
such

such annual day, and at such other times, and at such place, as shall be fixed by future rules of the convention.

“ And it is hereby further determined and declared, by the said clergy and congregations, that, if the clergy and congregations of any adjoining state or states shall desire to unite with the church in this state, agreeably to the fundamental principles established at the aforesaid meeting in New-York, then the convention shall have power to admit the said clergy, and deputies, from the congregations of such adjoining state or states, to have the same privileges, and to be subject to the same regulations, as the clergy and congregations in this state.”

Adjourned to 7 o'clock, P. M.

Seven o'Clock, P. M.

The convention met, and subscribed the above act; which has been since signed by others, not members of that convention.

Resolved, That deputies be sent to the general convention, which is to be held in this city, on the Tuesday preceding the Feast of St. Michael next ensuing; and that the Rev. Drs. White and Magaw, the Rev. Messrs. Blackwell, Hutchins, and Campbell, be, and they are hereby appointed, the clerical deputies; and that Richard Peters, Samuel Powel, William Atlee, Jasper Yeates, Stephen Chambers, Edward Hand, Thomas Hartley, John Clark, Archibald McGrew, Plunket Fleeson, Edward Shippen, and Joseph Swift, Esquires, and Dr. Gerardus Clarkson, and Messrs. Andrew Doz, John Wood, Nicholas Jones, and Edward Duffield, or such of them as can attend, be, and they are hereby appointed, the lay-deputies to the said general convention.

Resolved, That the Rev. Drs. White and Magaw, the Rev. Mr. Blackwell, Mr. Powel, Mr. Swift and Mr. Doz, be, and they, or any three of them, are appointed a committee, to carry on all necessary correspondence, to superintend the printing of the act of association, and to transmit the same to the several congregations in this state; and, in general, to transact all business relative to the concerns of the protestant episcopal church in the state of Pennsylvania.

The convention then broke up.

JOURNAL of the Second Convention.

PHILADELPHIA, May 22d, 1786.

SUNDRY members of the protestant episcopal church in the state of Pennsylvania, assembled in Christ-Church; and after some conversation, they adjourned, to meet the next day, at 10 o'clock, that more time might be given for the coming in of other members.

CHRIST-CHURCH, May 23d, 1786.

The convention met.

LIST OF MEMBERS PRESENT.

CLERGY.

The Rev. William White, D. D. rector, and the Rev. Robert Blackwell, assistant minister of Christ-Church and St. Peter's, Philadelphia.
Rev.

Rev. Samuel Magaw, D. D. rector of St. Paul's.

Rev. Joseph Pilmore, rector of Trinity-Church, Oxford, All-Saints, Pemapecka, and St. Thomas's, Whitemarsh.

LAITY.

From Christ-Church, Philadelphia, Hon. Francis Hopkinson, and Joseph Swift, Esquires.

From St. Peter's, Philadelphia, Samuel Powel, Esquire, Dr. Gerardus Clarkson, Mr. Tench Coxe.

From St. Paul's, Philadelphia, Mr. John Swanwick, Mr. Andrew Doz, Mr. John Wood.

From St. Thomas's, Whitemarsh, Mr. John B. Gilpin.

From St. James's, Perkioming, Dr. Shannon.

The convention proceeded to the choice of a president; and the Rev. Dr. White was unanimously elected, and took the chair.

They then proceeded to choose a secretary; and the Rev. Dr. Magaw was elected.

The convention, previously to their entering upon other business, directed prayers to be read; which was performed by their secretary.

The Rev. Mr. Pilmore declared his assent unto, and signed the act of association, as rector of Trinity-Church, Oxford, St. Thomas's, Whitemarsh, and All-Saints, Pemapecka.

The deputies from the congregations before mentioned produced the testimonials of their appointments.

Ordered, That they be preserved among the records of the convention.

A question was moved and seconded: "Whether clergymen, not having parochial cures, can be admitted as members of this convention, consistently with the following clause of the act of association,"

"And it is hereby further determined and declared, by the said clergy and congregations, that there shall be a convention of the said church; which convention shall consist of all the clergy of the same, and of lay-deputies."

A division being called for, as soon as the members were ready for the question, it was determined in the negative.

The following rules were then agreed to.

First. That no person shall speak more than once on any question, without permission obtained of the convention.

Second. That every motion shall be handed to the president in writing, if so required by any member.

Third. That when a motion is made for a division on any question, and seconded, then such division shall take place; but not otherwise.

Resolved, That a committee be appointed to consider the Book of Common Prayer proposed by the general convention, and to make report thereon to this convention.

Agreed, that the committee shall consist of five persons; and that the following gentlemen shall compose it: Rev. Dr. White, Rev. Dr. Magaw, Rev. Mr. Pilmore, Mr. Swift, and Mr. Swanwick.

Resolved, That the committee make report, previously to the meeting of the general convention.

Adjourned to 10 o'clock the next morning.

CHRIST-

CHRIST-CHURCH, May 24th, 1786.

The convention met.

Mr. Jacob Duffield, deputy from the church of All-Saints, Lower Dublin, signed the act of association in behalf of that congregation, his credentials having been previously read and approved of.

Whereas some doubts have arisen, with regard to the operation of part of the third fundamental article established at Philadelphia, and of the fourth fundamental article proposed at New-York, so far as they require an adherence to the liturgy of the church of England; which articles are recognized and confirmed by the act of association; it was thereupon.

Moved and seconded, that it be referred to the committee on the Book of Common Prayer, to consider, whether it be necessary that a supplement be added to the act of association, and to report such supplement, if necessary, to this convention; and the same was committed accordingly.

Resolved, That Saturday, the 27th instant, be the day for the election of deputies to the general convention of the protestant episcopal church in the United States.

Adjourned till Saturday, 11 o'clock, A. M.

CHRIST-CHURCH, May 27th, 1786.

The convention met.

After prayers read by the president, the minutes of the last meeting were read.

Resolved, That the order of the day be postponed till one o'clock.

The following question was moved, "Whether deputies appointed by any congregation or congregations, to attend this convention, may be allowed to delegate the powers of their appointment to others?" And it was determined in the negative.

The order of the day was then taken up; and accordingly the convention proceeded to elect by ballot deputies, to represent the protestant episcopal church in this state at the next general convention, and the following persons were duly chosen.

CLERICAL DEPUTIES.

The Rev. Dr. White, Rev. Dr. Magaw, Rev. Mr. Pilmore, Rev. Mr. Blackwell.

LAY DEPUTIES.

Hon. Francis Hopkinson, Samuel Powel, Plunket Fleeceon, Esquires, Mr. John B. Gilpin.

The committee appointed to view and consider the Book of Common Prayer, made their report; and the same, being duly considered, was adopted, in the words following, viz.

"The convention having examined the Book of Common Prayer, as revised and proposed by the general convention of September and October last, instruct their deputies to the ensuing general convention to propose the following amendments.

"*First*. That in the morning prayer, the Nicene Creed be inserted after the Apostles Creed, with the words, "Or this," between them, with a rubrick,

rubrick, requiring, that the Nicene be used on the following festivals, viz. on Christmas-day, the Epiphany, Easter-day, Ascension-day, Whitsunday, and Trinity-Sunday.

"*Second.* That, in the consecration-prayer, in the office of the holy sacrament, after the words, "until his coming again," and before the words, "according to thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution," be inserted the following paragraph, instead of that now used: "Hear us, O merciful Father, we most humbly beseech thee; and of thy almighty goodness, vouchsafe so to bless and sanctify these thy creatures of bread and wine, that we, receiving them."

"*Third.* That, in the communion-service, where the Nicene Creed stood, there be a rubrick, requiring the use of one of the creeds, as in the morning prayer, when the two services shall not have been used at the same time, or in connection.

"*Fourth.* That, in all the offices for baptism, the articles of the Apostles' Creed be distinctly repeated, and this question and answer inserted in the baptism of infants:

Q. Wilt thou endeavour, that the child now presented to be baptized, may be instructed in this faith?

A. I will.

"*Fifth.* That, in the burial service, the beginning of the omitted prayer be retained to these words, "joy and felicity," with the addition of a thanksgiving to Almighty God, for the good examples of all righteous persons departed, like that in the conclusion of the prayer for Christ's Church Militant.

"*Sixth.* That the first, fifth, and eleventh of the new articles be omitted, and the first, second, fourth, fifth, fourteenth, twenty-second, twenty-sixth, and thirtieth of the old articles be retained.

"*Seventh.* That the fourth article of the new be entitled, "Of the Creeds;" and the Nicene be recognized therein with the Apostles'.

"*Eighth.* That the ninth of the old articles be retained, as far as the word, "damnation;" and the said word to be changed into "condemnation."

"*Ninth.* That the seventeenth of the old articles be retained, with the following alteration: Omit the words, "to Life;" and these, "secret to us;" with what follows to the words, "in due season;" inclusively, inserting instead thereof, "to admit to the inestimable privileges of the gospel dispensation all those Gentiles; as well as Jews, who should believe in his Son Jesus Christ." After the word, "calling," insert "of God." End at these words, "everlasting felicity."

"*Tenth.* That the thirty-fifth article of the old book be retained, so far as it refers to the homilies, as containing godly and wholesome doctrine.

"*Eleventh.* That, instead of the old thirty-seventh article, there be a new one, declaratory of our allegiance to the civil authority in these states, and the obedience due to the magistrates thereof."

Adjourned, to meet at Christ-Church, in the city of Philadelphia, on the 9d day of October next.

PHILADELPHIA, August 24th, 1786.

Certain circumstances and events rendering it necessary, that such members of the convention of the protestant episcopal church in the state of Penn-

Pennsylvania, as were in this city, and any other members able to attend with convenience, should confer together, and notices having been sent, by the secretary, for that purpose, the following gentlemen met in the episcopal academy, at the time above-mentioned.

Rev. Dr. White, president, Rev. Dr. Magaw, Rev. Mr. Blackwell, Mr. Hopkinson, Mr. Powel, Dr. Gerardus Clarkson, Mr. Doz, Mr. Swanwick, Mr. Swift, and Mr. Tench Cox.

It appearing to be highly expedient, that the convention of this church should meet earlier than the time, to which they were adjourned, it was unanimously agreed, that the 14th day of September should be the day of meeting; and that, in the letters of notification to the several churches, the particular object of the meeting should be expressed, viz. The election of a bishop, previous to the meeting of the general convention, on the 10th day of October next.

JOURNAL of the Second Convention,

AT THEIR SECOND SESSION.

CHRIST-CHURCH, September 14th, 1786.

IN consequence of a circular letter, sent to the several congregations of the protestant episcopal church in this state, by direction of sundry members of the convention of said church, who had conferred on the subject, a number of the members formerly appointed, and several other gentlemen, lately deputed, met agreeably to the invitation and notice, which had been given.

The persons present were the following.

C L E R G Y.

The Rev. William White, D. D. president, Rev. Samuel Magaw, D. D.
Rev. Joseph Pilmore, Rev. Robert Blackwell.

L A I T Y.

Hon. Francis Hopkinson, Esquire, Dr. Gerardus Clarkson, Mr. Andrew Doz, Mr. John Swanwick, Mr. John B. Gilpin, Mr. Jacob Duffield.

Mr. Jacob Ashton, from Trinity-Church, Oxford.

Mr. John Swift, St. James's, Bristol.

Mr. Isaac Bullock, St. John's, Concord.

Mr. Benjamin Marshall, St. Martin's, Marcus-hook.

Mr. James Withy, St. Paul's, Chester.

Richard Willing, Esquire, St. David's, Radnor.

Robert Ralston, Esquire, St. Peter's, Chester county.

Those gentlemen, who had been lately appointed, presented the testimonials of their respective appointments, which were read, approved of, and ordered to be filed, and kept among the records of the convention.

Certain communications and letters from the arch-bishops and bishops of England having been read, and the reasons for calling this convention somewhat earlier than the day, to which they had adjourned, having been duly considered, it was

C

Resolved,

Resolved, That in the opinion of the convention, there was sufficient cause for their present meeting; and that it is proper and regular.

On motion, *Resolved*, That this convention proceed now to the election of a bishop of the protestant episcopal church in this state.

The convention proceeded accordingly to the election of a bishop, by ballot; and the Rev. William White, D. D. president, was unanimously chosen.

Adjourned till three o'clock, P. M.

Three o'clock, P. M.

The convention met.

The minutes of the last meeting were read.

Mr. John Kerlin, from St. Gabriel's, Morlatton, attended; his letter of deputation was read; and his appointment was approved of.

On motion, *Resolved*, That a committee of correspondence and advice be appointed, to transact all such business, as may require their attention during the recess of this convention, and more especially, in the first instance, to advise with the bishop elect, concerning the proper time of embarking for England.

Agreed, That the said committee shall consist of three clerical and three lay members; and that the following persons shall compose the same:

Rev. Dr. Magaw, Rev. Mr. Blackwell, Rev. Mr. Pilmore, Hon. Francis Hopkinson, Esquire, Dr. Gerardus Clarkson, John Swanwick, Esquire.

On the question, "Whether the deputies, who are to attend the general convention, at their next meeting, shall be instructed."

Resolved, That they shall go vested with full powers, without any particular instructions.

Resolved farther, That they shall be, and they are hereby fully empowered to join with the other states, in establishing an ecclesiastical constitution.

On motion, Agreed, That it is most honorable for the church in general, and perfectly agreeable to the minds of all the members present, that a reasonable sum be fixed upon, to defray the necessary expences of the voyage of the bishop elect to and from England.

Resolved, That the sum be two hundred guineas, or three hundred and fifty pounds, currency.

Resolved, That the said sum be apportioned among the churches severally, to be raised by them, according to the salaries which they pay respectively to their officiating minister or ministers, or the sums which they may be supposed able with convenience to pay.

Resolved, That the contributions, when made by the several churches, (which it is hoped can be accomplished before the end of October) shall be sent to, or paid into the hands of the secretary of this convention; for the purpose before agreed to.

Adjourned to the third day of October, to meet in Philadelphia.

JOURNAL of the Second Convention,

AT THEIR THIRD SESSION.

CHRIST-CHURCH, Tuesday, October 3d, 1786.

SOME of the members of the convention met, agreeably to adjournment, and adjourned again to next Friday.

CHRIST-

CHRIST-CHURCH, Friday, October 6th, 1786.

The convention met; present,

The Rev. Dr. White, president, Rev. Dr. Magaw, Rev. Mr. Blackwell, Hon. Mr. Hopkinson, Mr. Powel, and Mr. Doz.

As this adjourned meeting was appointed to take order in any new matter, that might arise in the business of the church, and as no such new matter had arisen, the convention appointed the second Tuesday in May next, for the meeting of the next convention of the protestant episcopal church; desired the secretary to give notice thereof to the several congregations; and then broke up.

JOURNAL of the Third Convention,

Held at CHRIST-CHURCH, in the city of PHILADELPHIA,
on Tuesday, the 15th of May, 1787.

P R E S E N T,

The Right Rev. William White, D. D. bishop of the protestant episcopal church in the state of Pennsylvania.

Rev. Robert Blackwell, assistant minister of the united churches of Christ-Church and St. Peter's, Hon. Francis Hopkinson, Esquire, deputy from Christ-Church, Samuel Powel, Esquire, Dr. Gerardus Clarkson, Mr. Tench Coxe, St. Peter's, Rev. Samuel Magaw, D. D. rector of St. Paul's, Mr. Andrew Doz, Mr. George Nelson, deputies from St. Paul's, Philadelphia.

Rev. Joseph Pilmore, rector of Trinity-Church, &c. &c.

Mr. Benjamin Cottman, from Trinity-Church, Oxford.

Mr. Edward Duffield, from All-Saints, Pemapecka.

Mr. John B. Gilpin and Mr. Christopher Locfer, St. Thomas's, White-marsh.

Mr. Benjamin Marshall, Lower Chichester.

John Crosby, jun. Esquire, and Mr. John Worrell, deputies from St. Paul's, Chester.

Richard Willing, Esquire, St. David's, Radnor.

Robert Ralston, Esquire, St. Peter's, Valley of Chester.

Mr. George Bickham, St. John's, York-town.

Mr. Peter Jones, St. Gabriel's, Berks.

Rev. Joseph Hutchins, rector of St. James's, Lancaster.

The deputies from the several churches having produced the testimonials of their respective appointments, the same were read, approved of, and ordered to be filed.

The Rev. Dr. Magaw was chosen secretary.

The committee of correspondence and advice reported, that, in the execution of their trust, they had advised the Rev. Dr. White to proceed to England, for the purpose of obtaining consecration; that he had proceeded accordingly; and, while there, had written sundry letters to them on the subject, which they requested might be read; and they were read in order.

The convention having attended to the narrative of proceedings, contained in the aforesaid letters, unanimously approved of the Right Rev. bishop White's conduct, during the whole of this important business in England; and

Resolved, That the thanks of the convention should be given him for his very obliging and satisfactory communications.

The Right Rev. Bishop laid before the convention, the certificate and testimonials of his consecration in the chapel of the palace of Lambeth, in England, on the 4th day of February 1787, by the Most Reverend Archbishop of Canterbury, in the presence of the Most Reverend Archbishop of York, the Right Reverend Bishop of Bath and Wells, and the Right Reverend Bishop of Peterborough.

The bishop also exhibited a further certificate, attested in Doctors' Commons, by R. Jenner, notary public; which certificate was ascertained by an instrument or form of writing, under the signatures of two notaries public, attesting that Robert Jenner, whose name is subscribed to the foregoing act, was, and is, a notary public, and one of the deputy registers of the province of Canterbury, and the officer that he declares himself to be; as also that the words, which express his name, are of his proper hand-writing.

On motion of Mr. Coxé, seconded by Mr. Powel, a committee, consisting of the Rev. Mr. Hutchins, the Rev. Mr. Blackwell, Mr. Hopkinson, and Mr. Powel, was appointed, to consider and report the most proper time for holding the annual meeting of this convention; and to consider, farther, of the propriety of appointing a committee, or council, with whom the bishop may advise, in the discharge of the duties of his office, in the recess of the convention; also the manner of appointing the said committee, or council.

Adjourned till 4 o'clock, P. M.

Four o'clock, P. M.

The convention met.

Ordered, That those proceedings of general convention, which have a more immediate relation to the church in this state, form a part of the minutes of the convention.

The deputies from the convention of this church to the general convention, which met at Wilmington on the 11th day of October last, laid before the convention an act of the general convention, by which the Nicene Creed is restored; the article of Christ's descent into hell is replaced in the Apostles' Creed; the 10th article of the general constitution is newly modified; and the preface, and the 4th article of religion, in the proposed book, are accommodated to the creeds.

The committee, appointed to consider of the most proper time for holding the annual meeting of the convention, reported a resolution, which was adopted, and is as follows.

Resolved, That the convention shall be held annually, on the second Tuesday after Whitsunday, or the Feast of Pentecost.

The same committee reported, that it is proper a council of advice and correspondence be appointed, with whom the bishop may consult, in the discharge of his office; and that the said council consist of three clerical and three lay members, to be chosen annually, by ballot, by the convention.

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This report was adopted; and the convention proceeded to elect the members of the council of advice, when the following gentlemen were appointed, viz.

The Rev. Dr. Magaw, Rev. Mr. Blackwell, Rev. Mr. Pilmore, Hon. Mr. Hopkinson, Mr. Powel, Mr. Doz.

The convention broke up.

JOURNAL of the Fourth Convention.

St. PAUL'S CHURCH, Philadelphia, May 20th, 1783.

The convention met, the following members present;

The Right Rev. William White, D. D. Bishop.

Rev. Samuel Magaw, D. D. rector of St. Paul's, Rev. Robert Blackwell, Rev. Joseph Bend, assistant ministers of Christ-Church and St. Peter's, Philadelphia.

Rev. Joseph Pilmore, rector of Trinity-Church, &c. &c.

Rev. Joseph Hutchins, rector of St. James's, Lancaster.

Rev. Slator Clay, rector of St. David's, &c. &c.

Hon. Francis Hopkinson, Esquire, Mr. Abraham Markoe, deputies from Christ-Church, Samuel Powel, Esquire, Dr. Gerardus Clarkfon, Mr. Tench Coxe, St. Peter's, Mr. Andrew Doz, Mr. Joseph Turner, Mr. John Wood, St. Paul's, Philadelphia.

Mr. Jacob Ashton, Trinity-Church, Oxford.

Mr. John B. Gilpin, All-Saints, Pemaupka.

Mr. Christopher Loefer, St. Thomas's, Whitmarsh.

Mr. Zachariah Derrick, St. Martin's, Marcus-hook.

Dr. Richard Tidmarsh, St. Paul's, Chester.

The deputies from the several churches above mentioned produced the testimonials of their respective appointments, which were read and approved of.

The convention proceeded to the election of a secretary; and the Rev. Dr. Magaw was unanimously chosen.

Adjourned till 4 o'clock, P. M.

Four o'Clock, P. M.

The convention met.

It was moved and seconded, that the convention proceed to elect, by ballot, clerical and lay-deputies, to represent this church in general convention, in case such convention should be held, previously to the next stated meeting of this convention.

This was unanimously agreed to; and the following gentlemen were duly chosen.

CLERICAL DEPUTIES.

Rev. Dr. Magaw, Rev. Mr. Hutchins, Rev. Mr. Blackwell, Rev. Mr. Pilmore.

LAY DEPUTIES.

Hon. Mr. Hopkinson, Mr. Powel, Mr. Doz, Mr. Tench Coxe.

The

The convention then proceeded to the election of the council of advice; and the following gentlemen were duly chosen: Rev. Dr. Magaw, Rev. Mr. Blackwell, and Rev. Mr. Pilmore; Hon. Mr. Hopkinson, Dr. Clarkson, and Mr. Doz.

On motion, *Resolved*, That, with respect to the delegation to the general convention, if, at any time, any member or members appointed should decline, or, through some unavoidable circumstance, be unable to attend, on notice being given to the other members of the delegation, of the same order, they shall appoint, for the time being, a substitute or substitutes in his or their place.

The convention adjourned sine die.

JOURNAL of the Fifth Convention, Held in CHRIST-CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA, on *Tuesday*, the 9th of *June*, 1789.

LIST OF MEMBERS PRESENT.

CLERGY.

The Right Rev. William White, D. D. Bishop.
Rev. Samuel Magaw, D. D. rector of St. Paul's, Rev. Robert Blackwell, D. D. Rev. Joseph Bend, assistant ministers of Christ-Church and St. Peter's, Philadelphia.
Rev. Joseph Pilmore, rector of Trinity-Church, &c. &c.
Rev. Sator Clay, rector of St. David's, &c. &c.

LAITY.

From Christ-Church, Philadelphia, Hon. Francis Hopkinson, Esquire.
St. Peter's, Dr. Gerardus Clarkson, Mr. Tench Coxe.
St. Paul's, John Swanwick, Esquire, Mr. George Nelson, Mr. John Wood.
Trinity-Church, Oxford, Mr. Benjamin Cottman.
All-Saints, Pemaudeca, Mr. John B. Gilpin.
St. Thomas's, Whitmarsh, Mr. Christopher Loefer.
St. James's, Perkioming, Dr. Robert Shannon.
St. David's, Radnor, John Jones, Esquire.

The convention being assembled, the Rev. Dr. Magaw read prayers.

Dr. Magaw declining the office of secretary, the convention elected the Rev. Mr. Bend.

The deputies from the several congregations above mentioned produced the testimonials of their respective appointments, which were read, and approved of.

On motion, *Resolved*, That the associated churches annually contribute twelve pounds, for the purpose of defraying such expences, as the convention of this church may incur; and that the said sum be raised according to the ratio settled for raising the sum of two hundred guineas, for defraying

defraying the expences of the Right Rev. Dr. White's voyage to England for consecration.

In consequence of the above resolve, the following sums were apportioned to the several churches, to which they are respectively annexed.

To Christ-Church and St. Peter's,	£ 6 17 6
St. Paul's, Philadelphia,	- 3 17 6
Trinity-Church, Oxford,	- 0 6 6
All-Saints, Pemapecka,	- 0 6 0
St. Thomas's, Whitemarsh,	- 0 5 0
St. James's, Perkioming,	- 0 4 3
St. David's, Radnor,	- 0 5 0

Resolved, That the bishop and his council be requested to revise the canons of the church of England, to prepare a set for the government of the protestant episcopal church in this state, and to report the same to the next convention.

The convention then proceeded to the election of their deputies to the general convention, to be held in Philadelphia, on the fourth Tuesday in July next; when the following gentlemen were duly chosen:

The Rev. Dr. Magaw, the Rev. Mr. Pilmore, the Rev. Dr. Blackwell, and the Rev. Mr. Bend; the Hon. Francis Hopkinson, Esquire, Dr. Gerardus Clarkson, Samuel Powel, Esquire, and Mr. Tench Coxe.

Resolved, That if any of the deputies should decline the appointment, or be unable to attend, the remaining deputies of the same order shall, on notice given, elect another person in his stead, who shall, in all respects, act, as if directly appointed by the convention.

The Rev. Mr. Bend was appointed Treasurer of the monies paid by the different churches, for defraying the expences of the convention.

The following gentlemen were chosen, as council of advice and correspondence, for the ensuing year.

Rev. Dr. Magaw, Rev. Mr. Pilmore, and Rev. Dr. Blackwell; Hon. Francis Hopkinson, Esq; Dr. Gerardus Clarkson, and Samuel Powel, Esq.

The convention adjourned sine die.

JOURNAL of the Sixth Convention,

Held in CHRIST-CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA, on *Tuesday*,
the 1st day of *June*, 1790.

LIST OF MEMBERS PRESENT.

C L E R G Y.

The Right Rev. William White, D. D. bishop.

The Rev. Samuel Magaw, D. D. rector of St. Paul's, Rev. Robert Blackwell, D. D. Rev. Joseph Bend, assistant ministers of Christ-Church and St. Peter's, Philadelphia.

Rev. John Andrews, D. D. rector of St. James's, Bristol.

Rev. Joseph Pilmore, rector of Trinity-Church, &c. &c.

Rev. Sator Clay, rector of St. David's, &c. &c.

Rev. Elisha Rigg, rector of St. James's, Lancaster.

Rev.

Rev. William Smith, D. D. provost of the college, &c. in Philadelphia.
 Rev. Joseph Clarkson.
 Rev. Archibald Walker.

L A I T Y.

From Christ-Church, Philadelphia, Joseph Swift, Esquire, Mr. James Reynolds.

St. Peter's, Dr. Gerardus Clarkson, Mr. John Wilcocks.

St. Paul's, Plunket Fleeson, John Swanwick, Esquires, Mr. John Campbell.

St. James's, Lancaster, Hon. George Ross, Esquire.

Trinity-Church, Oxford, Mr. Joseph Ashton.

All-Saints, Pemapecka, Mr. John B. Gilpin.

The convention being assembled, the Rev. Mr. Bend read prayers.

The deputies from the several congregations before mentioned produced the testimonials of their respective appointments, which were read, and approved of.

The Rev. Dr. Andrews and the Rev. Mr. Rigg took their seats in the convention; the former, as rector of St. James's, Bristol; the latter, of St. James's, Lancaster.

The Rev. Mr. Bend was chosen secretary to the convention.

The Rev. Dr. Smith informed the convention, that, in consequence of the 16th canon of the general convention, he considered himself a member of the convention of this church, and accordingly attended, to take his seat.

After some conversation on this subject, the following resolution was offered by the Rev. Dr. Blackwell.

Resolved, That every clergyman of the protestant episcopal church in this state, who is entitled to the privileges of a citizen therein, shall also be entitled to a seat in the convention of the said church.

This resolution was postponed, to introduce the following, by Mr. Wilcocks.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this convention, that the Rev. Dr. Smith has a right to a seat therein; and that a committee be now appointed, to frame a rule on the subject of clerical membership in general, and to make report.

On motion of Mr. Swanwick, the said resolution was divided; and the former part being postponed, the latter was determined in the affirmative; and the Rev. Dr. Magaw, Rev. Dr. Andrews, and the Rev. Dr. Blackwell were appointed the committee, and retired, for the purpose for which they were appointed.

Mr. Wilcocks then withdrew the former part of his motion.

The treasurer's accounts for the last year were read, and approved of; and the Rev. Mr. Bend was chosen treasurer for the ensuing year.

The minutes of the last convention were read.

On motion, *Ordered,* That Mr. Swanwick and the secretary be a committee for publishing 200 copies of the journals of the convention of this church, together with the account of those meetings, which gave rise to the said convention.

The committee appointed to frame a rule on the subject of clerical membership brought in a report, which being read, and amended, was agreed to, and is as follows:

Resolved, That every regularly ordained clergyman of the protestant episcopal church, who is engaged as a professor, tutor, or instructor of youth, in any college, academy, or general seminary of learning in this state, duly incorporated; also every clergyman of the said church, resident in this state, and entitled to the privileges of a citizen, shall be entitled to a seat in the convention of this church, altho' without a parochial charge.

Upon which, the Rev. Dr. Smith took his seat in the convention.

Adjourned to 4 o'clock in the afternoon.

TUESDAY, Four o'clock, P. M.

The convention met.

The Rev. Mr. Clarkson and the Rev. Mr. Walker, clergymen of the protestant episcopal church, took their seats in the convention, in consequence of the rule for clerical membership, agreed to in the morning.

The constitution of the protestant episcopal church in the United States of America, and the canons for the government of the same, were read; and notice was given to the convention, that it is proposed to consider and determine on, in the next general convention, the propriety of investing the house of bishops with a full negative on the proceedings of the other house.

On motion of the Rev. Dr. Magaw, the following recommendation was subscribed by at least two thirds of the convention.

"We, whose names are underwritten, are of opinion, that the dispensing with the knowledge of the Greek language, in the examination of the Rev. Elisha Rigg for the holy order of priests, will be of use to the church, of which we are the convention, in consideration of other qualifications of the said Rev. Elisha Rigg for the gospel ministry."

Resolved, That this convention proceed to the choice of clerical and lay deputies to the next general convention; and that they be chosen by the order, to which they respectively belong.

The following gentlemen were then duly chosen :

CLERICAL DEPUTIES.

Rev. Dr. Magaw, Rev. Dr. Smith, Rev. Dr. Andrews, Rev. Dr. Blackwell.

LAY DEPUTIES.

Dr. Gerardus Clarkson, Joseph Swift, John Swanwick, Esquires; Mr. James Reynolds.

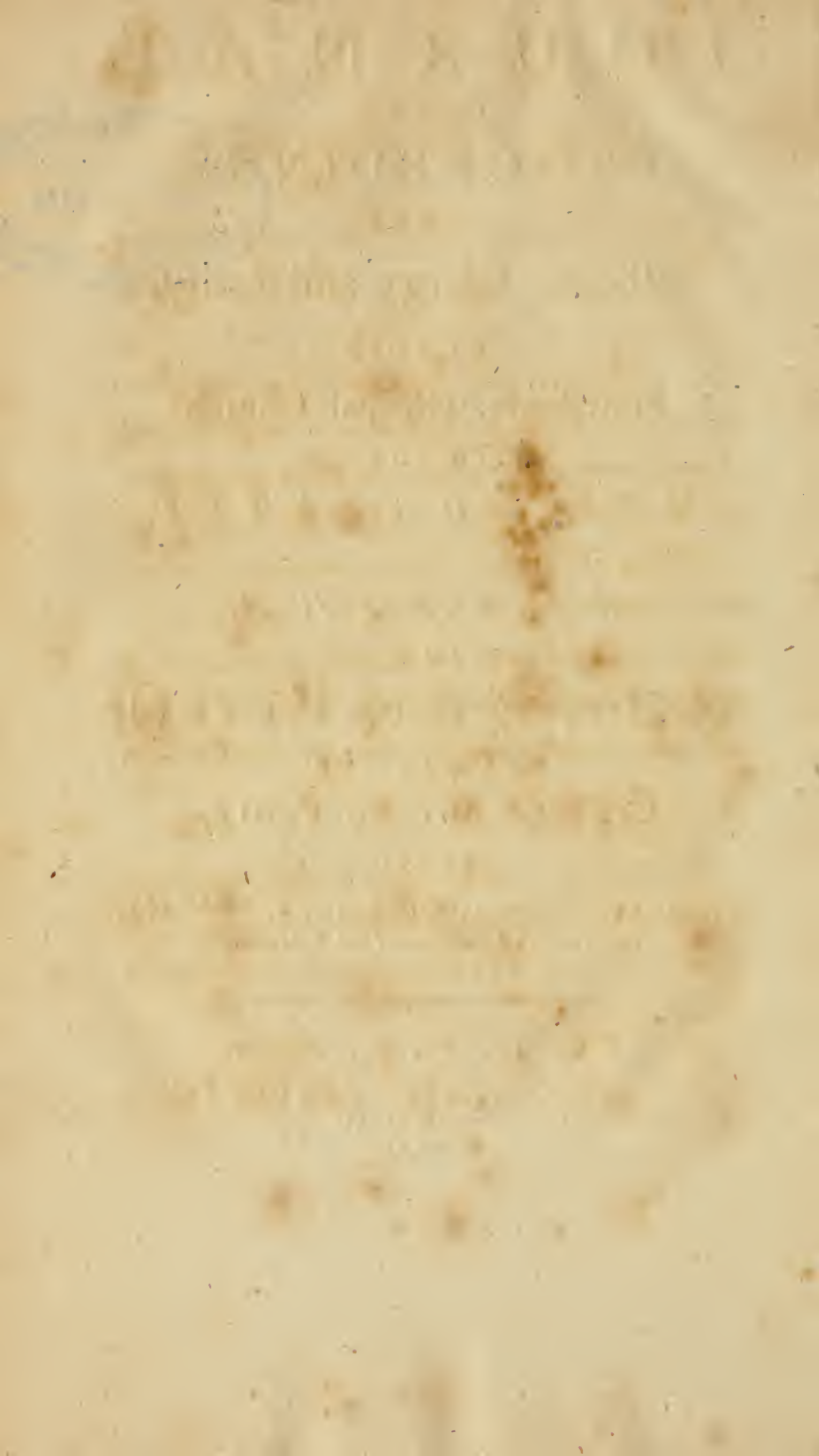
Resolved, That the said deputies be invested with the same power with those appointed at the last convention.

The following gentlemen were then chosen a standing committee of the convention of this church, agreeably to the 6th canon of the general convention: Rev. Dr. Magaw, Rev. Dr. Blackwell, Rev. Mr. Pilmore; Dr. Gerardus Clarkson, Joseph Swift, and Samuel Powel, Esquires.

Ordered, That the standing committee be a council of advice to the bishop.

Resolved, That the council of advice be authorized to concur with any persons appointed in other states, for encouraging the printing of a folio or

M. DCC. XC.



P R E F A C E.

A T a CONVENTION of the *Protestant Episcopal Church* in the States of New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia and South-Carolina, held in Christ-Church, in the city of Philadelphia, from July 28th to August 8th, 1789; upon the consideration of certain communications from the Bishop and Clergy of the church in Connecticut, and from the Clergy in the churches of Massachusetts and New-Hampshire, it was resolved to adjourn to the 29th day of September following, in order to meet the said churches, for the purpose of settling Articles of Union, Discipline, Uniformity of Worship and General Government among all the churches in the United States.

The following is a JOURNAL of the PROCEEDINGS of BOTH HOUSES, (viz. of BISHOPS, and of CLERICAL and LAY-DEPUTIES) in the said *Adjourned Convention*.

J O U R.

JOURNAL, &c.

CHRIST-CHURCH, Tuesday, September 29th, 1789.

THE Right Rev. Dr. *White*, the Rev. Dr. *William Smith*, the Rev. Dr. *Robert Smith*, the Rev. Mr. *Bend*, *Robert Andrews*, Esq; and Dr. *Gerardus Clarkson* met at Christ-Church; but, not being a sufficient number to proceed to business,

Adjourned until ten o'clock to-morrow morning.

CHRIST-CHURCH, Wednesday, September 30th, 1789.

The Convention met.

The Right Rev. Dr. *White* presided, *ex officio*.

The Rev. Mr. *Bracken* read prayers.

The Rev. Mr. *Bracken*, clerical deputy from the church in Virginia, produced * testimonials of his appointment, which being read, and approved, he took his seat.

The Right Rev. Dr. *Samuel Seabury*, Bishop of the PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL Church in Connecticut, attended, to confer with the Convention, agreeably to the invitation given him, in consequence of a resolve passed at their late session: And the Rev. Dr. *Samuel Parker*, deputy from the churches in Massachusetts and New-Hampshire, and the Rev. Mr. *Bela Hubbard* and the Rev. Mr. *Abraham Jarvis*, deputies from the church in Connecticut, produced testimonials of their appointment to confer with the Convention, in consequence of a similar invitation.

These testimonials were read, and deemed satisfactory.

The Right Rev. Dr. *Seabury* produced his letters of consecration to the holy office of a Bishop in this church, which were read, and ordered to be recorded. [*See the Appendix.*]

On motion, *Resolved*, That the Secretary, the Hon. *Francis Hopkinson*, Esq; be permitted and requested to appoint an Assistant-Secretary, who is not a member of this Convention.

Resolved, That this Convention will, to-morrow, go into a Committee of the Whole, on the subject of the *proposed* UNION with the churches in the states of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts and Connecticut, as now represented in Convention.

Resolved, further, That the hours of business in Convention shall be, from nine o'clock in the morning until three in the afternoon.

Adjourned.

* This being an adjourned Convention, testimonials were only required from new members.

CHRIST.

CHRIST-CHURCH, Thursday, October 1st, 1789.

The Convention met.

The Rev. Mr. Rowe read prayers.

The Rev. Dr. Beach, from New-York, the Rev. Mr. Frazer and James Parker, Esq; from New-Jersey, and James Sykes, Esq; from Delaware, took their seats in Convention.

Mr. Joseph Borden Hopkinson was admitted as Assistant-Secretary.

Mr. John Rumsey produced credentials as a lay-deputy from the state of Maryland, and was admitted to his seat.

The meeting in Christ-Church being found inconvenient to the members, in several respects—

On motion, *Resolved*, That the Rev. Dr. William Smith and the Hon. Mr. Secretary Hopkinson be appointed to wait upon His Excellency Thomas Mifflin, Esq; the President of the state, and to request leave for the Convention to hold their meeting in some convenient apartment in the *State-House*.

The Convention then resolved itself into a committee of the whole, agreeably to the order of the day,

The Rev. Dr. Robert Smith in the chair;

And after some time rose, and reported the following resolve, *viz*.

Resolved, That, for the better promotion of an UNION of this church with the *Eastern churches*, the General Constitution established at the last session of this Convention is yet open to amendments and alterations, by virtue of the powers delegated to this Convention.

The question being put on this report, and a division called for, it was determined in the affirmative.

On motion, *Resolved*, That a committee be appointed to confer with the deputies from the *Eastern churches*, on the subject of the *proposed UNION* with those churches: Whereupon

The Rev. Dr. William Smith, Rev. Dr. Robert Smith, Rev. Dr. Benjamin Moore, Richard Harrison and Tench Coxe, Esquires, were chosen for this purpose.

The Rev. Dr. William Smith and Hon. Mr. Hopkinson reported, that the President of the state had very politely given permission to the Convention to hold their meetings at the *State-House*, in the apartments of the General Assembly, until they shall be wanted for the public service.

Adjourned, to meet at the *State-House* to-morrow morning.

S T A T E - H O U S E, in the City of Philadelphia,

Friday, October 2^d, 1789.

The Convention met.

The Rev. Dr. Robert Smith read prayers.

The Rev. Dr. William Smith, from the committee appointed to confer with the deputies from the churches of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts and Connecticut, concerning a *Plan of UNION* among all the Protestant Episcopal Churches in the United States of America, reported as follows, *viz*.

“ That they have had a full, free and friendly conference with the deputies of the said churches, who, on behalf of the church in their several states, and by virtue of sufficient authority from them, have signified, that they do not object to the constitution, which was approved at the former session of this Convention, if the third article of that constitution may be so modified,

dified, as to declare explicitly the right of the *Bishops*, when sitting in a separate House, to originate and propose acts for the concurrence of the other House of Convention; and to negative such acts proposed by the other House, as they may disapprove.

" Your committee, conceiving this alteration to be desirable in itself as having a tendency to give greater stability to the constitution, without diminishing any security that is now possessed by the *Clergy* or *Laity*; and being sincerely impressed with the importance of an *Union* to the future prosperity of the church, do therefore recommend to the Convention a compliance with the wishes of their brethren, and that the third article of the constitution may be altered accordingly. Upon such alteration being made, it is declared by the deputies from the churches in the Eastern States, that they will subscribe the CONSTITUTION, and become members of this General Convention."

Upon special motion, the above *Report* was read a second time; whereupon the following *Resolution* was proposed, viz.

Resolved, That this Convention do adopt that part of the report of the committee, which proposes to modify the third article of the constitution, so as to declare explicitly " the right of the *Bishops*, when sitting in a separate House, to originate and propose acts for the concurrence of the other House of Convention; and to negative such acts proposed by the other House, as they may disapprove; PROVIDED they are not adhered to by four fifths of the other House.

After some debate, the resolution, with the proviso annexed, was agreed upon, and the third article was accordingly modified in the manner following, viz.

Art. 3d. *The Bishops of this church, when there shall be three or more, shall, whenever General Conventions are held, form a separate House, with a right to originate and propose acts for the concurrence of the House of Deputies, composed of Clergy and Laity; and when any proposed act shall have passed the House of Deputies, the same shall be transmitted to the House of Bishops, who shall have a negative thereupon, unless adhered to by four fifths of the other House; and all acts of the Convention shall be authenticated by both Houses. And, in all cases, the House of Bishops shall signify to the Convention their approbation or disapprobation, the latter, with their reasons in writing, within three days after the proposed act shall have been reported to them for concurrence; and in failure thereof, it shall have the operation of a law. But until there shall be three or more Bishops, as aforesaid, any Bishop attending a General Convention shall be a member, ex officio, and shall vote with the clerical deputies of the state to which he belongs; and a Bishop shall then preside.*

On motion, *Resolved*, That it be made known to the several State Conventions, that it is proposed to consider and determine, in the next General Convention, on the propriety of investing the House of Bishops with a full NEGATIVE upon the proceedings of the other House.

Ordered, That the General Constitution of this church, as now altered and amended, be laid before the Right Rev. Dr. *Seabury* and the deputies from the churches in the Eastern states, for their approbation and assent.

After a short time, they delivered the following testimony of their assent to the same, viz.

Oslober

October 2d, 1789.

WE do hereby agree to the CONSTITUTION of the Church, as modified this day in Convention.

SAMUEL SEABURY, D. D. Bishop of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut.

ABRAHAM JARVIS, A. M. Rector of Christ-Church, Middletown,	}	State of Connecticut.
BELA HUBBARD, A. M. Rector of Trinity Church, New-Haven,		

SAMUEL PARKER, D. D. Rector of Trinity Church, Boston, and clerical deputy for Massachusetts and New-Hampshire.

After subscribing as above, the Right Rev. Bishop *Seabury* and the clerical deputies aforesaid took their seats, as members of the Convention.

On motion, the Rev. Dr. *Parker* and Rev. Mr. *Jarvis* were added to the committee for revising the canons.

Adjourned.

S T A T E - H O U S E, Saturday, October 3d, 1789.

The Convention met.

The Rev. Mr. *Ogden* read prayers.

Mr. *Charles Goldsborough* produced the credentials of his appointment as a lay-deputy from the church in Maryland, and took his seat accordingly.

The Right Rev. Bishop *White* informed the Convention, that he had received certain letters from the Right Rev. Bishop *Provoost*, with a request that they may be communicated to the Convention; which were read accordingly.

On motion, *Resolved*, That, agreeably to the constitution of the church, as altered and confirmed, there is now in this Convention a separate HOUSE OF BISHOPS.

The Bishops now withdrawing, the President's chair was declared vacant; whereupon the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies proceeded to the election of a President by ballot, and the Rev. WILLIAM SMITH, D. D. clerical deputy from Maryland (Provost of the college of Philadelphia) was duly chosen, and took the chair accordingly.

Resolved, That seats be provided on the right hand of the chair, for the accommodation of the BISHOPS, when they shall choose to be present at the proceedings and debates of this House.

¶ Here ends the *Journal* of the PROCEEDINGS of the CONVENTION, as consisting of a SINGLE HOUSE. The *Journals* of the TWO HOUSES will now follow; separately; to which will be prefixed *The General Ecclesiastical Constitution*, as subscribed, and entered on the *Book of Records*, which will answer the intention, as well of exhibiting a *List* of the *Members* of both Houses in Convention, as of defining their separate rights and powers.

A GE-

*The CONSTITUTION of the PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH
in the United States of America.*

ART. 1. **T**HERE shall be a General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, on the second Tuesday of September, in the year of our Lord 1792, and on the second Tuesday of September in every third year afterwards, in such place as shall be determined by the Convention; and special meetings may be called at other times, in the manner hereafter to be provided for; and this church, in a majority of the states which shall have adopted this constitution, shall be represented, before they shall proceed to business; except that the representation from two states shall be sufficient to adjourn; and in all business of the Convention, freedom of debate shall be allowed.

ART. 2. The church in each state shall be entitled to a representation of both the Clergy and the Laity, which representation shall consist of one or more deputies, not exceeding four of each order, chosen by the Convention of the state; and, in all questions, when required by the Clerical or Lay representation from any state, each order shall have one vote; and the majority of suffrages by states shall be conclusive in each order, provided such majority comprehend a majority of the states represented in that order: The concurrence of both orders shall be necessary to constitute a vote of the Convention. If the Convention of any state should neglect or decline to appoint clerical deputies, or if they should neglect or decline to appoint lay deputies, or if any of those of either order appointed should neglect to attend, or be prevented by sickness or any other accident, such state shall, nevertheless, be considered as duly represented by such deputy or deputies as may attend, whether lay or clerical. And if, through the neglect of the Convention of any of the churches which shall have adopted, or may hereafter adopt, this constitution, no deputies, either lay or clerical, should attend at any General Convention; the church in such state shall nevertheless be bound by the acts of such Convention.

ART. 3. The Bishops of this church, when there shall be three or more, shall, whenever General Conventions are held, form a separate House, with a right to originate and propose acts, for the concurrence of the House of Deputies, composed of Clergy and Laity; and when any proposed act shall have passed the House of Deputies, the same shall be transmitted to the House of Bishops, who shall have a negative thereupon, unless adhered to by four fifths of the other House; and all acts of the Convention shall be authenticated by both Houses. And, in all cases, the House of Bishops shall signify to the Convention their approbation or disapprobation (the latter, with their reasons in writing) within three days after the proposed act shall have been reported to them for concurrence; and, in failure thereof, it shall have the operation of a law. But until there shall be three or more Bishops, as aforesaid, any Bishop attending a General Convention shall be a member, *ex officio*, and shall vote with the clerical deputies of the state to which he belongs; and a Bishop shall then preside."

ART. 4. The Bishop or Bishops in every state shall be chosen agreeably to such rules, as shall be fixed by the Convention of that state: And every Bishop of this church shall confine the exercise of his episcopal
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office to his proper diocese or district; unless requested to ordain, or confirm, or perform any other act of the episcopal office, by any church destitute of a Bishop.

ART. 5. A Protestant Episcopal Church in any of the United States, not now represented, may, at any time hereafter, be admitted, on acceding to this constitution.

ART. 6. In every state, the mode of trying clergymen shall be instituted by the Convention of the church therein. At every trial of a Bishop, there shall be one or more of the episcopal order present; and none but a Bishop shall pronounce sentence of deposition or degradation from the ministry on any Clergyman, whether Bishop, or Presbyter, or Deacon.

ART. 7. No person shall be admitted to holy orders, until he shall have been examined by the Bishop and by two presbyters, and shall have exhibited such testimonials and other requisites, as the canons, in that case provided, may direct. Nor shall any person be ordained until he shall have subscribed the following declaration: "I do believe the holy scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be the word of God, and to contain all things necessary to salvation: And I do solemnly engage to conform to the doctrines and worship of the Protestant Episcopal Church in these United States." No person ordained by a foreign Bishop shall be permitted to officiate as a minister of this church, until he shall have complied with the canon or canons in that case provided, and have also subscribed the aforesaid declaration.

ART. 8. A book of common prayer, administration of the sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the church, articles of religion, and a form and manner of making, ordaining and consecrating Bishops, Priests and Deacons, when established by this or a future General Convention, shall be used in the Protestant Episcopal Church in those states, which shall have adopted this constitution.

ART. 9. This constitution shall be unalterable, unless in General Convention, by the church in a majority of the states, which may have adopted the same; and all alterations shall be first proposed in one General Convention, and made known to the several State Conventions before they shall be finally agreed to, or ratified, in the ensuing General Convention.

Done in General Convention of the BISHOPS, CLERGY and LAITY of the Church, the second day of October, 1789, and ordered to be transcribed into the Book of Records, and subscribed, which was done as follows, viz.

In the HOUSE of BISHOPS.

SAMUEL SEABURY, D. D. Bishop of Connecticut.

WILLIAM WHITE, D. D. Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Pennsylvania.

In the HOUSE of CLERICAL and LAY DEPUTIES.

WILLIAM SMITH, D. D. President of the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies, and Clerical Deputy from Maryland.

New-Hampshire and Massachusetts.

SAMUEL PARKER, D. D. Rector of Trinity Church, Boston.
Conne-

Connecticut.

BELA HUBBARD, A. M. Rector of Trinity Church, New-Haven.

ABRAHAM JARVIS, A. M. Rector of Christ-Church, Middletown.

New-York.

BENJAMIN MOORE, D. D. } Assistant Ministers of Trinity
ABRAHAM BEACH, D. D. } Church, city of New-York.
RICHARD HARRISON, Lay Deputy from the state of New-York.

New-Jersey.

UZZAL OGDEN, Rector of Trinity Church, Newark.
WILLIAM FRAZER, A. M. Rector of St. Michael's Church, Trenton, and St. Andrew's Church, Amwell.

SAMUEL OGDEN, }
ROBERT STRETTELL JONES, } Lay Deputies.

Pennsylvania.

SAMUEL MAGAW, D. D. Rector of St. Paul's, Philadelphia.

ROBERT BLACKWELL, D. D. Senior Assistant Minister of Christ-Church and St. Peter's, Philadelphia.

JOSEPH G. J. BEND, Assistant Minister of Christ-Church and St. Peter's, Philadelphia.

JOSEPH PILMORE, Rector of the United Churches of Trinity, St. Thomas's and All Saints.

GERARDUS CLARKSON, }
TENCH COXE, } Lay Deputies from the state
FRANCIS HOPKINSON, } of Pennsylvania.
SAMUEL POWEL, }

Delaware.

JOSEPH COWDEN, A. M. Rector of St. Anne's.

ROBERT CLAY, Rec. of Emanuel and St. James's Churches.

Maryland.

JOHN BISSET, A. M. Rector of Shrewsbury Parish, Kent county.

JOHN RUMSEY, }
CHARLES GOLDSBOROUGH, } Lay Deputies.

Virginia.

JOHN BRACKEN, Rector of Bruton Parish, Williamsburg.

ROBERT ANDREWS, Lay Deputy.

South-Carolina.

ROBERT SMITH, D. D. Rector of St. Philip's Church, Charleston.

WILLIAM SMITH, }
WILLIAM BRISBANE, } Lay Deputies from the State of South-Carolina.

☞ Sundry other members attended this Convention at different times of sitting, but were absent on the day of signing the Constitution. See the names occasionally entered on the Journal.

JOURNAL

OF THE HOUSE OF

CLERICAL AND LAY DEPUTIES.

S T A T E - H O U S E, Saturday, October 3d, 1789.

TH E Bishops having withdrawn, and a President being chosen as afore said, the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies proceeded to business, as follows, viz.

The committee on the canons being called upon, reported progress, and had leave to sit again.

Resolved, That a committee be appointed to prepare a calendar, and tables of lessons for morning and evening prayer, throughout the year; also collects, epistles and gospels;—and Rev. Dr. Parker, Rev. Dr. Moore, Rev. Mr. Bend, Dr. Clarkson and Rev. Mr. Jarvis were chosen for this purpose.

Resolved, That a committee be appointed to prepare a morning and evening service for the use of the church.—The Rev. Mr. Hubbard, Rev. Dr. Robert Smith, Rev. Dr. Blackwell, Mr. Rumsey and Mr. Andrews were chosen.

Resolved, That a committee be appointed to prepare a litany, with occasional prayers and thanksgivings; and Rev. Dr. Beach, Rev. Mr. Bracken, Rev. Mr. Bissett, Mr. Hopkinson and Mr. Goldsborough were chosen.

Resolved, That a committee be appointed, to prepare an order for the administration of the Holy Communion;—and Rev. Mr. Pilmore, Rev. Mr. Ogden, Col. Ogden, Rev. Mr. Frazer and Mr. Sykes were appointed.

Adjourned to Monday morning.

S T A T E - H O U S E, Monday, October 5th, 1789.

The House met.

The Rev. Mr. Bissett read prayers.

William Smith, Esq; from South-Carolina, took his seat in the House.

The standing committee, appointed at the former session of this Convention, made report, as follows:—"That they had forwarded the address to the most Reverend the Arch-Bishops of Canterbury and York; and that they prepared and forwarded answers to the Reverend Dr. Parker, and the clergy of Massachusetts and New-Hampshire; that they answered, as far as was necessary, the letters of the Right Reverend Bishop Seabury; that they notified to the church in the several states, not included in this Union, the time and place to which the Convention had adjourned, and requested
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their sending deputies to the same, for the good purposes of Union and General Government; and that they inclosed, in each of the communications mentioned in this report, a copy of the minutes and proceedings of this Convention at their last session.

The Rev. Mr. *Bissett* and the Rev. Mr. *Bend* were appointed to assist the Secretary in preparing the minutes for the press.

The committee on the morning and evening service reported a morning service, which was read, and afterwards considered by paragraphs.

Adjourned.

S T A T E - H O U S E, Tuesday, October 6th, 1789.

The House met.

The Rev. Mr. *Bend* read prayers.

The committee on the litany, &c. reported a litany, which was read, and ordered to lie on the table.

Resolved, That a committee be appointed, to report in what manner the psalms should be used; whereupon the following members were elected, by ballot, for that service:—Mr. *Andrews*, Mr. *Hopkinson*, Rev. Dr. *Moore*, Rev. Dr. *Parker* and Rev. Dr. *Robert Smith*.

The Convention then resumed the consideration of the report on the morning service, and having made farther progress therein,

Adjourned to Thursday morning.

S T A T E - H O U S E, Thursday, October 8th, 1789.

The House met.

The Reverend Dr. *Parker* read prayers.

The Rev. Mr. *Bloomer*, from New-York, Mr. *Brisbane*, from South-Carolina, and the Rev. Dr. *Magaw*, from Pennsylvania, took their seats in the House.

The Rev. Mr. *Hubbard* was chosen Vice-President of this House.

The Convention resumed the consideration of the report on the morning service, and completed the same.

Ordered, That it be transcribed, and authenticated by the President and Secretary, and that the Rev. Dr. *R. Smith* and Mr. *Andrews* carry it to the House of Bishops, for their concurrence.

Ordered, That the Rev. Dr. *Parker* and Rev. Mr. *Bend*, of the committee on the lessons, calendar, &c. carry their report, as far as they have prepared it, to the House of Bishops, for their consideration.

Mr. *Harrison* and Mr. *Rumsey* obtained leave of absence.

Adjourned.

S T A T E - H O U S E, Friday, October 9th, 1789.

The House met.

The Rev. Dr. *Magaw* read prayers.

The committee on the morning and evening service reported an evening service, which was read, and ordered to lie on the table.

The committee on the communion service made a report, which was read, and ordered to lie on the table.

The report on the litany was then taken up, and some progress made in the consideration thereof.

Adjourned.

S T A T E -

S T A T E - H O U S E, Saturday, October 10th, 1789.

The House met.

The Rev. Mr. *Frazer* read prayers.

The committee on the calendar, &c. brought in the remainder of their report, which was ordered to be laid before the House of Bishops.

The House then resumed the consideration of the report on the litany, and compleated the same.

Ordered, That the litany be transcribed, and authenticated by the President and Secretary.

The proposed tables of lessons for Sundays and other Holy-Days were returned by the House of Bishops, with some amendments.

On motion, The tables of lessons for Sundays and other Holy-Days, as amended by the House of Bishops, were re-committed to the committee appointed to prepare them.

The committee appointed to report in what manner the psalms shall be used, made a report, which was read, agreed to, and directed to be transmittted to the House of Bishops.

The evening service was then considered, amended, and ordered to be transcribed and authenticated; and the Rev. Dr. *Beach* and Rev. Mr. *Bisset* were appointed to carry it to the House of Bishops, for their concurrence.

The report on the communion service was taken up, and some progress made in the consideration thereof.

A message was received from the House of Bishops, with their assent to the calendar, the epistles and gospels, and proposing certain amendments to the collects laid before them; which amendments were agreed to.

Mr. *Ogden* had leave of absence.

It having been notified, that the public service of the state of Pennsylvania would require the use of the *State-House* during the present week;

Adjourned, to meet at Christ-Church on Monday morning next.

C H R I S T - C H U R C H, Monday, October 12th, 1789.

The Convention met, and it being represented that convenient apartments might be had in the COLLEGE OF PHILADELPHIA for the meeting of both Houses of Convention, during the remainder of the present session,

Adjourned, to meet at the College immediately.

C O L L E G E of Philadelphia, Monday, October 12th, 1789.

The House met.

The Rev. Mr. *Frazer* read prayers.

A message was received from the House of Bishops, returning the proposed litany and form of morning prayer, with amendments, and proposing a form of public baptism of infants.

The committee, appointed to consider the amendments of the House of Bishops to the tables of lessons for Sundays, &c. advised a concurrence of this House in the said amendments.

Resolved, That this report be agreed to, and that the said tables of lessons be authenticated.

The House then took up the amendments proposed by the House of Bishops to the form of morning prayer and the litany, some of which were adopted, and others non-concurred.

Ordered,

Ordered, That they be transmitted to the House of Bishops, with the determination of this House.

A message was received from the House of Bishops, proposing a form for the solemnization of matrimony; also amendments to the report concerning the psalms. These amendments were considered, some agreed to, and others non-concurred.

Ordered, That the House of Bishops be informed of the said determination.

A message was received from the House of Bishops, proposing an order for the visitation of the sick.

Resolved, That, in future, this House will meet at nine o'clock in the morning, and adjourn at two in the afternoon, to meet again at four.

Adjourned till to-morrow morning.

COLLEGE of Philadelphia, Tuesday, October 13th, 1789.

The House met.

The Rev. Dr. *Beach* read prayers.

The report on the communion service was resumed, considered by paragraphs, and agreed to.

A message was received from the House of Bishops, proposing a form of burial service, and the order in which the psalter shall be used; and also requesting a conference with this House on the proposed amendments of the morning prayer and litany.

It was agreed that this request should be complied with, at five o'clock this afternoon. The Secretary was ordered to inform the House of Bishops of this, and he returned with their concurrence.

Adjourned.

Four o'Clock, P. M.

The House met.

Resolved, That the intended conference with the House of Bishops be deferred to a future time.

The Rev. Dr. *Parker* and Rev. Dr. *Moore* were desired to inform the House of Bishops of this resolution, and returned with the concurrence of that House.

Six additional collects, reported by the committee on the communion service, were considered and agreed to, and, with the communion service, ordered to be transcribed, and transmitted to the House of Bishops.

A message was received from the House of Bishops, proposing the manner and form of setting forth the book of psalms in metre.

The committee on the litany, &c. reported certain occasional prayers and thanksgivings, which, with some few amendments, were adopted, and ordered to be transmitted to the House of Bishops.

The Convention then took up the form of public baptism of infants, which they amended, and returned to the House of Bishops.

On motion, *Resolved*, That the following clause be added to the seventh canon of this church.

Unless it shall be recommended to the Bishop, by two thirds of the State Convention to which he belongs, to dispense with the aforesaid requisition, in whole or in part; which recommendation shall only be for good causes moving thereunto, and shall be in the following words, with
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the signature of the names of the majority of such Convention :—“ We, whose names are underwritten, are of opinion, that the dispensing with the knowledge of the Latin and Greek languages (or either of them, as the case may be) in the examination of A. B. for holy orders, will be of use to the church of which we are the Convention, in consideration of other qualifications of the said A. B. for the gospel ministry.”

The above clause being sent to the House of Bishops, received their concurrence.

Adjourned.

COLLEGE of Philadelphia, Wednesday, October 14th, 1789.

The House met.

The Rev. Dr. Parker read prayers.

The form for the solemnization of matrimony was considered, and amended, and transmitted to the House of Bishops.

A message was received from the House of Bishops, informing, that they had passed the form of public baptism of infants, with the amendments of this House, and proposing a form for the private baptism of infants, and a form of baptism of those of riper years.

Adjourned.

Four o' Clock, P. M.

The House met.

The burial service was considered, amended, and transmitted to the House of Bishops.

A message was received from the House of Bishops, with amendments to the communion service, and with the form for the solemnization of matrimony, which they had passed, as amended by this House.

The amendments to the communion service were considered, amended, and transmitted to the House of Bishops; and the service, thus amended, was, with the six additional collects, assented to, and returned by the said House.

Adjourned.

COLLEGE of Philadelphia, Thursday, October 15th, 1789.

The House met.

The Rev. Mr. Pilmore read prayers.

The order in which the psalter shall be read was considered, and agreed to.

The House then went into a conference with the House of Bishops, which continued till two o'clock.

Adjourned.

Four o' Clock, P. M.

The House met.

The constitution, as copied in the book of records, was read and compared, and, having received an alteration as to the time of the future meetings of the Convention, was signed by both Houses of Convention.

The committee on the canons reported certain canons, which, being considered and amended, were ratified, and transmitted to the House of Bishops.

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The House again went into a conference with the House of Bishops, in the course of which it was agreed, that the book of common prayer to be set forth by this Convention shall be in use from the first day of October, 1790.

A message was received from the House of Bishops, proposing a catechism, confirmation, and forms of prayer for families, and containing their assent to the burial service, except the first rubric; in their amendment to which this House concurred.

Dr. Parker obtained leave of absence after to-morrow noon.

On motion, the Rev. Dr. Blackwell, Rev. Mr. Ogden and Rev. Mr. Bissett were appointed a committee, to report what farther measures are necessary to perpetuate the succession of Bishops in America.

Adjourned.


COLLEGE of Philadelphia, Friday, October 16th, 1789.

The House met.

The Rev. Dr. Beach read prayers.

The House of Bishops returned the canons, with an amendment, in which this House concurred; and they also proposed a title page to the book of common prayer, which was read, and passed.

The CANONS now passed, together with those passed at the last session, being collected into *one body*, and ratified by both Houses, were directed to be entered in the Book of Records, and printed with the Journal of this Convention.

[ See the Appendix.]

The Rev. Mr. Bend proposed a table of proper psalms for certain days, which was passed, and sent to the House of Bishops.

A preface and table of contents were sent to this House by the House of Bishops, which, with their concurrence, were referred to the committee to be appointed to superintend the publication of the Book about to be issued by the Convention.

Tables for finding the Holy-Days, and tables of the moveable and immoveable feasts, which had been proposed by the House of Bishops, were passed.

The House of Bishops returned the order of evening prayer, with an amendment, to which this House agreed.

They also transmitted to this House amendments to the occasional prayers and thanksgivings, and a form for the churching of women, a form of thanksgiving for the fruits of the earth, additional prayers for the visitation of the sick, and a form of ratification of the Prayer-Book.

The amendments of the House of Bishops to the occasional prayers and thanksgivings were considered, and assented to.

A message was received from the House of Bishops, with their assent to the table of proper psalms; and proposing a form of prayer to be used at sea, and a form of prayer for the visitation of prisoners; also an order for the communion of the sick.

The manner and form of setting forth the book of psalms in metre was considered, amended, and returned to the House of Bishops.

The additional prayers for the visitation of the sick were considered, and passed with an amendment, to which the House of Bishops agreed.

The order for the visitation, and the order for the communion of the sick, were agreed to.

The form of the ratification of the Book of Common Prayer was agreed to.

The House of Bishops proposed, for the adoption of this House, articles of religion, which, with the concurrence of the House of Bishops, were referred to a future Convention.

The form of the visitation of prisoners was then passed.

The form of thanksgiving for the fruits of the earth was assented to; also the form of prayer to be used at sea.

A message was received from the House of Bishops, with their assent to the amendments proposed to the manner and form of setting forth the book of psalms in metre.

The order for the administration of baptism of those of riper years was considered, and passed; also, the form of private baptism of infants.

A message was sent to the House of Bishops, proposing that the Ash-Wednesday service, as set forth in the Proposed Book, should be adopted, instead of the Commination formerly used; to which the House of Bishops assented.

The confirmation, and the forms of family morning and evening prayer, were considered, and adopted.

A message was received from the House of Bishops, proposing an alteration in the litany, which was sent back with an amendment, in which the House of Bishops concurred.

A message was received from the House of Bishops, with their assent to the morning prayer, and the report on the psalms.

Adjourned.

Four o'Clock, P. M.

The House met.

The catechism was considered, amended, and transmitted to the House of Bishops.

The form for the churching of women was agreed to; and it was resolved, with the concurrence of the House of Bishops, that the thanksgiving in the said form should be inserted among the occasional thanksgivings, and used, at the discretion of the Minister, instead of the whole office.

Resolved, That the Rev. Dr. William Smith, Rev. Dr. Magaw, Rev. Dr. Blackwell, Mr. Hopkinson and Mr. Cox be a committee, to superintend the printing of the Book of Common Prayer, as set forth by this Convention, and that they advise with any person or persons who shall be appointed by the House of Bishops for the same purpose.

Resolved, That the committee appointed to superintend the printing of the Book of Common Prayer, &c. be instructed to have the selections of psalms, set forth by this church, printed immediately before the psalter; and, besides a full and complete edition of the said book, printed in folio or octavo, or in both, to have an edition published, to contain only the parts in general use, and the collects of the day, with references to the epistles and gospels.

A message was received from the House of Bishops, with their assent to the catechism, as amended; and with information that the Right Rev. Bishop White consents to advise with the committee appointed by this House to superintend the printing of the Book of Common Prayer, &c.

Mr.

Mr. Tench Coxe was elected Treasurer of the Convention.

The following gentlemen were appointed a standing committee, to act during the recess of the Convention: The Rev. Dr. William Smith, *ex officio*, Rev. Dr. Parker, Rev. Mr. Hubbard, Rev. Dr. Beach, Mr. Harrison, Rev. Mr. Ogden, Mr. Jones, Rev. Dr. Blackwell, Mr. Hopkinson, Rev. Mr. Clay, Mr. Sykes, Rev. Mr. Bissett, Mr. Carmichael, Rev. Mr. Eracken, Mr. Andrews, Rev. Dr. Robert Smith, and Mr. Brisbane.

Resolved, That this committee, or a majority of them, have power to recommend to the Bishops the calling of special meetings of the Convention, when they think it necessary.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this House, that the Bishops have a right, when they think it necessary, to call special Conventions.

The committee on the means of perpetuating the Episcopal Succession in the United States of America made the following report, which was read, and adopted, *viz.*

The committee on the means of perpetuating the Episcopal Succession in these United States, are of opinion,——

That the standing committee, which, agreeably to the constitution, is chosen, as above, to act during the recess of the General Convention, ought, in the name of the Convention, to recommend for consecration any person, who shall appear to them to be duly elected and qualified for the Episcopal Office: That should any person, elected and qualified as above, be proposed, and should the answer from the English Archbishops be favorable to the intended plan of consecrating by the Right Rev. the Bishops Seabury, White and Provost, the committee shall write to the said three Bishops, intimating that it is the will and desire of the General Convention, that such consecration should, as soon as convenient, take place: That should the answer from England be unfavorable, or any obstacle occur, by the death of either of the three Bishops, or otherwise, the said committee shall recommend any Bishop Elect to England, for consecration.

Resolved, That, with the concurrence of the House of Bishops, the next meeting of the Convention be in the city of New-York.

Resolved, That the Right Rev. Bishop Seabury be requested to preach a sermon at the opening of the next Convention.

*Signed, by Order of the HOUSE of CLERICAL
and LAY DEPUTIES.*

WILLIAM SMITH, PRESIDENT.

FRANCIS HOPKINSON, Secretary.

JOURNAL

OF THE

HOUSE OF BISHOPS.

In CONVENTION of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, held at the State-House, in the city of Philadelphia, on Monday, the 5th day of October, in the year of our Lord 1789.

AFTER divine service in the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies, the House of Bishops met in the Committee-Room of the honorable House of Assembly.

P R E S E N T.

The Right Reverend SAMUEL SEABURY, D. D. and

The Right Reverend WILLIAM WHITE, D. D.

The following RULES are agreed on, and established, for the government of this House, viz.

1st. The Senior Bishop present shall be the President; seniority to be reckoned from the dates of the letters of consecration.

2^d. This House will authenticate its acts by the signing of the names of, at least, the majority of its members.

3^d. There shall be a Secretary to this House.

In addition to the above, it is now established as a temporary rule, that this House will attend divine service, during the session, in the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies.

The Rev. Joseph Clarkson, A. M. is appointed the Secretary of this House.

This House went into a review of the morning and evening prayer, and prepared some proposals on that subject.

Adjourned till ten o'clock to-morrow morning.

S T A T E - H O U S E, Tuesday, October 6th, 1789.

After divine service,

Adjourned till nine o'clock on Thursday morning.

S T A T E - H O U S E, Thursday, October 8th, 1789.

Divine service being over,

This House went into the consideration of the litany, and of the other parts of the service connected with the morning and evening prayer,
and

and compleated their propofals on that fubject, excepting a few particulars, which they have noted as queries for their further confideration.

The Houfe then proceeded to the confideration of the collects, epiftles and gospels; and from them, to the order for the adminiftration of the holy communion; and having prepared their propofals on thefe parts of the fervice,

Adjourned till nine o'clock to-morrow morning.

S T A T E - H O U S E, Friday, October 9th, 1789.

Divine fervice being over,

The Houfe went into a review of the fervice for the public baptifm of infants, and prepared propofals on that fubject.

The Houfe then received a meffage from the Houfe of Clerical and Lay Deputies, by the Rev. Dr. *Parker* and the Rev. Mr. *Bend*, informing, that they had prepared tables of leffons for Sundays, and other Holy-days, to be laid before this Houfe, which were accordingly prefented.

This Houfe went immediately into the confideration of the above, during which there was received a meffage from the Houfe of Clerical and Lay Deputies, by the Rev. Dr. *Robert Smith* and *Robert Andrews*, Efq; with information, that they had prepared a form of morning prayer, to be laid before this Houfe; which was accordingly prefented.

The Houfe then proceeded in their examination of the tables of leffons, and having prepared fome amendments of the fame,

Adjourned till nine o'clock to-morrow morning.

S T A T E - H O U S E, Saturday, October 10th, 1789.

After divine fervice,

The Houfe compleated the inftrument of amendments of the tables of leffons, and fent the fame, by their Secretary, to the Houfe of Clerical and Lay Deputies,

This Houfe then received a meffage from the Houfe of Clerical and Lay Deputies, by the Rev. Dr. *Parker* and the Rev. Mr. *Bend*, with information, that they had prepared propofals in regard to the calendar, and in regard to the collects, epiftles and gospels; which were accordingly prefented.

The Houfe then went into the confideration of the propofed form of morning prayer, during which they received a meffage from the Houfe of Clerical and Lay Deputies, by the Rev. Dr. *Beach* and the Rev. Mr. *Biffett*, with information, that they had prepared the litany to be laid before this Houfe; which was accordingly prefented.

The Houfe then went on with the confideration of the morning prayer, when they received another meffage from the Houfe of Clerical and Lay Deputies, by the Rev. Dr. *Robert Smith* and the Rev. Dr. *Moore*, with information, that they had prepared a felection of psalms; which was laid before the Houfe.

The Houfe, after preparing their amendments of the morning prayer for engroffing, proceeded to the confideration of the propofed litany, and prepared their amendments of that fervice, alfo, for engroffing.

They then proceeded to the confideration of the propofed calendar, and having affented to the fame, returned it by their Secretary.

The Houfe then proceeded to confider the propofals refpecting the collects, epiftles and gospels, and having prepared their amendments, fent them, by their Secretary, to the Houfe of Clerical and Lay Deputies.

A mef-

A message was received, by the Rev. Dr. *Parker*, from the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies, representing, that if this House were prepared to originate any parts of the service, it would be agreeable to the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies to receive them on Monday morning.

Accordingly the Secretary is desired to prepare a copy of the proposed form of public baptism of infants.

The public service requiring the use of the room where this House sit, Adjourned to the Apparatus-Room of the College, there to meet on Monday morning, at nine o'clock.

COLLEGE of Philadelphia, Monday, October 12th, 1789.

Divine service being over,

The House of Bishops sent, by their Secretary, to the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies, their amendments of the morning prayer, and of the litany, together with the alterations, originated in this House, of the ministration of the public baptism of infants.

This House received a message from the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies, by the Rev. Dr. *Parker*, informing, that they agree to the amendments proposed in regard to the tables of lessons for Sundays, and other Holy-Days, excepting the fourth amendment, on which they desire a conference.

This House withdrew the said fourth amendment, and desired Dr. *Parker* to report the same to the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies.

This House then prepared alterations of the form of solemnization of matrimony, which were accordingly reported by their Secretary to the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies.

The House of Clerical and Lay Deputies returned to this House, by the Hon. Mr. *Hopkinson*, their amendments of the morning prayer and litany, with their concurrence in some articles, and non-concurrence in others.

This House prepared alterations of the order for the visitation of the sick, which were accordingly reported to the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies.

The House of Clerical and Lay Deputies returned to this House the proposed amendments of the selection of psalms, with their concurrence of some articles, and non-concurrence of others.

Adjourned till to-morrow, at nine o'clock.

COLLEGE of Philadelphia, Tuesday, October 13th, 1789.

Divine service being over,

The House of Bishops proceeded to prepare—the order how the Psalter is appointed to be read—the order how the rest of the holy scriptures is appointed to be read—and the order for the burial of the dead—which being prepared, were sent by the Secretary to the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies, together with a message, requesting a conference with that House on the amendments of the proposed morning prayer and litany, at such time, and in such manner, as they shall agree upon.

The House then proceeded to prepare a Commination service, &c. when they received a message from the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies, by their Secretary, informing, that, agreeably to the request of this House, they had appointed five o'clock this afternoon for a conference on the proposed morning prayer and litany.

The

The room in which the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies meet was mutually agreed on, as most convenient for the business.

Adjourned till four o'clock this afternoon.

Four o'Clock, P. M.

The House of Bishops received a message from the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies, by the Rev. Dr. *Parker* and the Rev. Dr. *Moore*, with information, that, if agreeable to this House, the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies would postpone the conference, agreed to be held this afternoon, until further communication; with which this House concurred.

This House then prepared the form and manner of setting forth the psalms in metre, and sent the same, by their Secretary, to the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies; together with the form of commination, &c. and tables of moveable and immoveable feasts, with tables for finding the Holy-Days.

The House then received a message from the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies, by the Rev. Dr. *Beach*, with information, that they had to propose prayers and thanksgivings for several occasions; which were accordingly presented.

Adjourned till nine o'clock to-morrow morning.

COLLEGE of Philadelphia, Wednesday, October 14th, 1789.

Divine service being over,

This House received a message from the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies, by the Rev. Dr. *Parker*, with amendments of the alterations of the burial service, originated in this House.

The amendments being concurred in, the alterations were passed, and returned.

This House then originated alterations of the services for private baptism, and for the baptism of adults, and sent the same, by their Secretary, to the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies.

A message from the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies, by the Hon. Mr. *Hopkinson*, was received by this House, which accompanied amendments of the alterations of the marriage service, originated in this House; which amendments being concurred in, the alterations were passed, and returned.

This House received from the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies a proposed communion service, and made amendments.

Adjourned till four o'clock in the afternoon.

Four o'Clock, P. M.

This House originated alterations of the catechism—of the order of confirmation—and a form of family prayer—and sent them to the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies, with the amendments of the communion service; which last were concurred in, except one, which being withdrawn by this House, the service was passed, and returned.

Adjourned till to-morrow morning, nine o'clock.

COLLEGE of Philadelphia, Thursday, October 15th, 1789.

Divine service being over,

This House had returned to them from the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies, by the Rev. Dr. *Parker*, the order how the psalter is appointed

to be read, and the order how the rest of the holy scripture is appointed to be read, with amendments; all of which were concurred in, except one, which was left for the conference, into which the House now went, agreeably to a former appointment, and in which they were employed during the morning of this day.

Adjourned till four o'clock this afternoon.

Four o'Clock, P. M.

This House originated, and proposed to the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies—alterations of the title-page,—a form of ratification of the Book of Common Prayer—a table of contents,—a form or manner of printing the former preface—and those called “Of the Service of the Church”—and “Of Ceremonies”—these, with the form of thanksgiving of women after child-birth, before prepared—and the amendments of the occasional prayers—were sent by the Secretary to the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies; after which the two Houses proceeded in their conference.

Adjourned till to-morrow morning, nine o'clock.

College
~~SATURDAY~~ *Friday, October 16th, 1789.*

Divine service being over,

This House received from the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies, by Dr. *Blackwell*, canons, as reported by a committee appointed at the former session.

This House acceded to the canons proposed, except the amendment of one, in consequence of which it was proposed to withdraw the canon, which being acceded to, this House passed the canons.

This House received, by *Robert Andrews*, Esq; the proposed order for evening prayer, of which they made an amendment, by proposing the insertion of two hymns, as alternatives to the psalms already in the service; which being agreed to, the order for evening prayer was passed.

The House received, by the Rev. Mr. *Bend*, a table of proper psalms; which was passed.

The House received, by the Rev. Dr. *Beach* and *Robert Andrews*, Esq; the table of contents, and the other initial parts of the book of common prayer, with a proposal, that they should be referred to a committee, to sit in the recess of this Convention; which was agreed to.

The House received, by the Rev. Mr. *Ogden* and Rev. Mr. *Bend*, amendments of the form of ratification of the book of common prayer, and also the form of churching of women, which are to lay over for consideration.

This House originated, and sent to the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies, as follow—a proposed ratification of the thirty-nine articles, with an exception in regard to the thirty-sixth and thirty-seventh articles—a form for the communion of the sick—a form for the visitation of prisoners—a form for thanksgiving for the fruits of the earth—and prayers to be inserted in the visitation of the sick.

The House of Clerical and Lay Deputies returned, by the Rev. Mr. *Bend*, the proposed form of printing the psalms in metre, with hymns, and proposed amendments of the same, which were agreed to, and the whole passed.

This House received, by the Rev. Mr. *Bend*, the visitation office and additional prayers, which being concurred in, the whole were passed; as was also the form of ratification of the book of common prayer.

This

This House received, by *Robert Andrews, Esq*; the ratification of the articles, with a proposal for postponement, which was agreed to, the proposal for the communion of the sick being first presented and passed.

This House received, by the Rev. Mr. *Bisset*, a proposal for retaining the service for Ash-Wednesday, as in the proposed book, with one alteration, which was agreed to.

This House returned the occasional prayers, passed.

The House then passed the morning and evening prayer, the litany, the selection of the psalms, and the orders how the psalter and the rest of the holy scripture is appointed to be read.

Four o'Clock, P. M.

The House received from the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies, amendments of the catechism; which being agreed to, the service was passed.

This House returned to the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies, the office for the churching of women, and the occasional prayers, the amendments mutually proposed having been agreed to.

It is understood, that the services originated in this House, and not returned with amendments, have been agreed to.

This House received from the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies, a message, informing, that they had appointed a committee, to join with any person to be appointed by this House, in setting forth the Book of Common Prayer. In consequence of which, the Right Reverend Bishop *White* agrees to assist the committee in preparing the book for publication.

The House of Clerical and Lay Deputies signified to this House, that they were about to adjourn, to meet, the next stated time, in the city of New-York, having previously appointed a committee to act, if necessary, in their recess. On which this House adjourned to the same time and place.

*Signed, as the Journal of the Convention, the sixteenth day of October,
one thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine.*

SAMUEL SEABURY, D. D. *Bishop of Connecticut, President.*

WILLIAM WHITE, D. D. *Pennsylvania.*

Attested. JOSEPH CLARKSON, *Secretary.*

A P P E N D I X.

C A N O N S,

For the Government of THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH in the United States of America, agreed on and ratified in the General Convention of said Church, held in the City of Philadelphia, from the 29th day of September to the 16th day of October, 1789, inclusive.

CANON I. *Of the Orders of the Ministers in this Church.*

IN this church there shall always be three orders in the ministry, viz. Bishops, Priests and Deacons.

CANON II. *Certificates to be produced on the part of Bishops elect.*

Every Bishop elect, before his consecration, shall produce to the Bishops, to whom he is presented for that holy office, from the Convention by whom he is elected a Bishop, and from the General Convention, or a committee of that body, to be appointed to act in their recess, certificates respectively, in the following words, viz.

Testimony from the members of the Convention in the State, from whence the person is recommended for consecration.

WE, whose names are underwritten, fully sensible how important it is that the sacred office of a Bishop should not be unworthily conferred, and firmly persuaded that it is our duty to bear testimony on this solemn occasion without partiality or affection, do, in the presence of Almighty God, testify, that *A. B.* is not, so far as we are informed, justly liable to evil report, either for error in religion, or for viciousness of life; and that we do not know or believe there is any impediment or notable crime, for which he ought not to be consecrated to that holy office. We do moreover jointly and severally declare, that, having personally known him for three years last past, we do in our consciences believe him to be of such sufficiency in good learning, such soundness in the faith, and of such virtuous and pure manners and godly conversation, that he is apt and meet to exercise the office of a Bishop, to the honor of God, and the edifying of his Church, and to be an wholesome example to the flock of Christ.

Testimony

Testimony from the General Convention.

WE, whose names are underwritten, fully sensible how important it is that the sacred office of a Bishop should not be unworthily conferred, and firmly persuaded that it is our duty to bear our testimony on this solemn occasion without partiality or affection, do, in the presence of Almighty God, testify, that *A. B.* is not, so far as we are informed, justly liable to evil report, either for error in religion, or for viciousness of life; and that we do not know or believe there is any impediment or notable crime, on account of which he ought not to be consecrated to that holy office, but that he hath, as we believe, led his life, for three years last past, piously, soberly and honestly.

CANON III. Of Episcopal Visitation.

Every Bishop in this church shall, as often as may be convenient, visit the churches within his diocese or district, for the purposes of examining the state of his church, inspecting the behaviour of the clergy, and administering the apostolic right of confirmation.

CANON IV. Of the Age of those who are to be ordained or consecrated.

Deacon's orders shall not be conferred on any person until he shall be twenty-one years old, nor Priest's orders on any one until he shall be twenty-four years old; and, except on urgent occasions, unless he hath been a Deacon one year.—No man shall be consecrated a Bishop of this church until he shall be thirty years old.

CANON V. Of the Titles of those who are to be ordained.

No person shall be ordained either Deacon or Priest, unless he shall produce a satisfactory certificate from some church, parish or congregation, that he is engaged with them, and that they will receive him as their Minister; and allow him a reasonable support; or unless he be engaged as a Professor, Tutor or Instructor of youth; in some college, academy or general seminary of learning, duly incorporated; or unless the standing committee of the church in the state, for which he is to be ordained, shall certify to the Bishop their full belief and expectation that he will be received and settled as a Pastor, by some one of the vacant churches in that state.

CANON VI. The Testimonials to be produced on the part of those who are to be ordained.

Every candidate for holy orders shall be recommended to the Bishop by a standing committee of the Convention of the state wherein he resides, which recommendation shall be signed by the names of a majority of the committee, and shall be in the following words:

WE, whose names are here underwritten, testify, That *A. B.* for the space of three years last past, hath lived piously, soberly and honestly: Nor hath he at any time, as far as we know or believe, written, taught or held, any thing contrary to the doctrine or discipline of the Protestant Episcopal Church. And moreover we think him a person
worthy

worthy to be admitted to the sacred order of ———. In Witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands. Dated the ——— day of ——— in the year of our Lord ———.

But, before a standing committee of any state shall proceed to recommend any candidate, as aforesaid, to the Bishop, such candidate shall produce testimonials of his good morals and orderly conduct for three years last past, from the minister and vestry of the parish where he has resided, or from the vestry alone, if the parish be vacant; a publication of his intention to apply for holy orders having been previously made by such minister or vestry. In every state, in which there is no standing committee, such committee shall be appointed at its next ensuing Convention; and in the mean time, every candidate for holy orders shall be recommended according to the regulations or usage of the church in each state, and the requisitions of the Bishop, to whom he applies.

CANON VII. *Of the Learning of those who are to be ordained.*

No person shall be ordained in this church until he shall have satisfied the Bishop and the two Presbyters, by whom he shall be examined, that he is sufficiently acquainted with the New Testament in the original Greek, and can give an account of his faith in the Latin tongue, either in writing or otherwise, as may be required; unless it shall be recommended to the Bishop, by two thirds of the state Convention to which he belongs, to dispense with the aforesaid requisition, in whole or in part; which recommendation shall only be for good causes moving thereto, and shall be in the following words, with the signature of the names of the majority of such Convention.

WE, whose names are underwritten, are of opinion, that the dispensing with the knowledge of the Latin and Greek languages (or of either of them, as the case may be) in the examination of *A. B.* for holy orders, will be of use to the church of which we are the Convention, in consideration of other qualifications of the said *A. B.* for the gospel ministry.

CANON VIII. *Of the stated Times of Ordination.*

Agreeably to the practice of the primitive church, the stated times of ordination shall be on the Sundays following the Ember weeks; viz. the second Sunday in Lent, the Feast of Trinity, and the Sundays after the Wednesdays following the fourteenth day of September, and the thirteenth of December.

CANON IX. *Of those who, having been ordained by foreign Bishops, settle in this Church.*

No person, not a member of this church, who shall profess to be episcopally ordained, shall be permitted to officiate therein, until he shall have exhibited to the vestry of the church, in which he shall offer to officiate, a certificate, signed by the Bishop of the diocese or district, or, where there is no Bishop, by three clergymen of the standing committee of the Convention of that state, that his letters of orders are authentic, and given by some Bishop whose authority is acknowledged by this church, and also satisfactory evidence of his moral character.

CANON

CANON X. *Of the Use of The Book of Common Prayer.*

Every minister shall, before all sermons and lectures, use the book of common prayer, as the same shall be set forth and established by the authority of this, or some future General Convention; and until such establishment of an uniform book of common prayer in this church, every minister shall read the book of common prayer directed to be used by the Convention of the church in the state in which he resides; and no other prayer shall be used besides those contained in the said book.

CANON XI. *Of the Duty of Ministers, in regard to Episcopal Visitation.*

It shall be the duty of ministers to prepare children and others for the holy ordinance of confirmation. And on notice being received from the Bishop of his intention to visit any church, which notice shall be at least one month before the intended visitation, the minister shall be ready to present, for confirmation, those who shall have been previously instructed for the same; and shall deliver to the Bishop a list of the names of those presented.

And at every visitation it shall be the duty of the minister, and of the church wardens, to give information to the Bishop of the state of the congregation; under such heads, as shall have been committed to them in the notice given as aforesaid.

And further, the ministers and church wardens of such congregations as cannot be conveniently visited in any year, shall bring or send to the Bishop, at the stated meeting of the Convention of the diocese or district, information of the state of the congregation, under such heads, as shall have been committed to them, at least one month before the meeting of the Convention.

CANON XII. *Notorious Crimes and Scandals to be censured.*

If any persons within this church offend their brethren by any wickedness of life, such persons shall be repelled from the holy communion, agreeably to the rubric, and may be further proceeded against, to the depriving of them of all privileges of church membership; according to such rules or process as may be provided, either by the General Convention, or by the Conventions in the different states.

CANON XIII. *Sober Conversation required in Ministers.*

No ecclesiastical persons shall, other than for their honest necessities, resort to taverns, or other places most liable to be abused to licentiousness. Further, they shall not give themselves to any base or servile labour, or to drinking or riot, or to the spending of their time idly. And if any offend in the above, they shall be liable to the ecclesiastical censure of admonition, or suspension, or degradation, as the nature of the case may require, and according to such rules or process as may be provided, either by the General Convention, or by the Conventions in the different states.

CANON XIV. *Of the due Celebration of Sundays.*

All manner of persons within this church shall celebrate and keep the Lord's day, commonly called Sunday, in hearing the word of God read
and

and taught, in private and public prayer, in other exercises of devotion; and in acts of charity, using all godly and sober conversation.

CANON XV. *Ministers to keep a Register.*

Every Minister of this church shall keep a register of baptisms, marriages and funerals within his cure, agreeably to such rules as may be provided by the ecclesiastical authority where his cure lies; and if none such be provided, then in such a manner, as, in his discretion, he shall think best suited to the uses of such a register.

And the intention of the register of baptisms is hereby declared to be, as for other good uses, so especially for the proving of the right of church membership of those, who may have been admitted into this church by the holy ordinance of baptism.

And further, every Minister of this church shall, within a reasonable time after the publication of this canon, make out and continue a list of all adult persons within his cure; to remain for the use of his successor, to be continued by him, and by every future Minister in the same parish.

And no Minister shall place on the said list the names of any persons, except of those, who, on due enquiry, he shall find to have been baptised in this church; or who, having been otherwise baptised, shall have been received into this church, either by the holy rite of confirmation, or by receiving the holy communion, or by some other joint act of the parties and of a Minister of this church; whereby such persons shall have attached themselves to the same.

CANON XVI. *A List to be made, and published, of the Ministers of this Church.*

The Secretary of the General Convention shall keep a register of all the Clergy of this church whose names shall be delivered to him, in the following manner; *that is to say*,—Every Bishop of this church, or, where there is no Bishop, the standing committee of that diocese or district, shall, at the time of every General Convention, deliver, or cause to be delivered to the Secretary, a list of the names of all the Ministers of this church in their proper diocese or district, annexing the names of their respective cures, or of their stations in any colleges or other incorporated seminaries of learning, or, in regard to those who have not any cures or such stations, their places of residence only. And the said list shall, from time to time, be published on the Journals of the General Convention.

And further, it is recommended to the several Bishops of this church, and to the several standing committees, that, during the intervals between the meetings of the General Convention, they take such means of notifying the admission of Ministers among them; as, in their discretion respectively, they shall think effectual to the purpose of preventing ignorant and unwary people from being imposed on, by persons pretending to be authorised ministers of this church.

CANON XVII. *Notice to be given of the Induction and Dismissal of Ministers.*

It is hereby required, that on the induction of a Minister into any church or parish, the parties shall deliver, or cause to be delivered to the Bishop, or to the standing committee of the diocese or district, notice of the same in the following form, or to this effect:

W E,

WE, the Church-wardens (or in case of an Assistant Minister, we, the Rector and Church-wardens) do certify to the Right Rev. (naming the Bishop) that (naming the person) has been duly chosen Rector (or Assistant Minister, as the case may be) of (naming the church or churches.)

Which certificate shall be signed with the names of those who certify.

And if the Bishop, or the standing committee, be satisfied that the person so chosen is a qualified minister of this church, he shall transmit the said certificate to the Secretary of the Convention, who shall record it in a book to be kept by him for that purpose.

But if the Bishop or the standing committee be not satisfied as above, he or they shall, at the instance of the parties, proceed to enquire into the sufficiency of the person so chosen, according to such rules as may be made in the states respectively, and shall confirm or reject the appointment, as the issue of that enquiry may be.

Passed October 16th, 1789.

House of Bishops,

SAMUEL SEABURY, *Bp. Connecticut, President,*
WILLIAM WHITE, *Pennsylvania.*

Attested. JOSEPH CLARKSON, Secretary.

House of Clerical and Lay Deputies,

WILLIAM SMITH, *President.*

Attested. FRANCIS HOPKINSON, Secretary.

An ADDRESS to THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,
published agreeably to the following Order, viz.

IN CONVENTION, AUGUST 7th, 1789.

The Address to The President of the United States being read, and signed in Convention——

Resolved, That the said Address, with the Answer that may be received thereto, be printed in the Journals of the adjourned meeting of this Convention.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

S I R,

WE, the Bishops, Clergy and Laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the States of New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia and South-Carolina, in General Convention assembled, beg leave, with the highest veneration and the most animating national considerations, at the earliest moment in our power, to express our cordial joy on your election to the Chief Magistracy of the United States.

When

When we contemplate the short but eventful history of our nation ; when we recollect the series of essential services performed by you in the course of the revolution ; the temperate, yet efficient exertion of the mighty powers with which the nature of the contest made it necessary to invest you ; and especially when we remember the voluntary and magnanimous relinquishment of those high authorities at the moment of peace ; we anticipate the happiness of our country, under your future administration.

But it was not alone from a successful and virtuous use of those extraordinary powers, that you were called from your honorable retirement, to the first dignities of our government. An affectionate admiration of your private character, the impartiality, the persevering fortitude, and the energy with which your public duties have been invariably performed, and the paternal solicitude for the happiness of the American people, together with the wisdom and consummate knowledge of our affairs, manifested in your last military communication, have directed to your name *the universal wish*, and have produced, for the first time in the history of mankind, *an example of unanimous consent* in the appointment of the Governor of a free and enlightened nation.

To these considerations, inspiring us with the most pleasing expectations as private citizens, permit us to add, that as the Representatives of a numerous and extended church, we most thankfully rejoice in the election of a Civil Ruler, deservedly beloved, and eminently distinguished among the friends of genuine religion ; who has happily united a tender regard for other churches with an inviolable attachment to his own.

With unfeigned satisfaction we congratulate you on the establishment of the new constitution of government of the United States, the mild, yet efficient operations of which, we confidently trust, will remove every remaining apprehension of those, with whose opinions it may not entirely coincide, and will confirm the hopes of its numerous friends. Nor do these expectations appear too sanguine, when the moderation, patriotism and wisdom of the Honorable Members of the Federal Legislature are duly considered. From a body thus eminently qualified, harmoniously co-operating with the executive authority in constitutional concert, we confidently hope for the restoration of order and of our antient virtues,—the extension of genuine religion,—and the consequent advancement of our respectability abroad, and of our substantial happiness at home.

We devoutly implore the Supreme Ruler of the Universe to preserve you long in health and prosperity,—an animating example of all public and private virtues,—the friend and guardian of a free, enlightened and grateful people,—and that you may finally receive the reward which will be given to those, whose lives have been spent in promoting the happiness of mankind.

WILLIAM WHITE, D. D. Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and President of the Convention.

SAMUEL PROVOOST, D. D. Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the state of New-York.

New-

New-York.

BENJAMIN MOORE, D. D. Assistant Minister of Trinity Church, in the city of New-York.
ABRAHAM BEACH, D. D. Assistant Minister of Trinity Church, in the city of New-York.

New-Jersey.

WILLIAM FRAZER, A. M. Rector of St. Michael's Church, Trenton, and St. Andrew's Church, Amwell.
UZZAL OGDEN, Rector of Trinity Church, in Newark.
HENRY WADDELL, Rector of the Churches of Shrewsbury and Middleton, New-Jersey.
GEORGE H. SPIEREN, Rector of St. Peter's Church, Perth-Amboy, New-Jersey.
JOHN COX.
SAMUEL OGDEN.
ROBERT STRETTELL JONES.

Pennsylvania.

SAMUEL MAGAW D. D. Rector of St. Paul's, and Vice-Provost of the University of Pennsylvania.
ROBERT BLACKWELL, D. D. Senior Assistant Minister of Christ-Church and St. Peter's, Philadelphia.
JOSEPH PILMORE, Rector of the United Churches of Trinity, St. Thomas's and All Saints.
JOSEPH G. J. BEND, Assistant Minister of Christ-Church and St. Peter's, Philadelphia.
FRANCIS HOPKINSON.
GERARDUS CLARKSON.
TENCH COXE.
SAMUEL POWEL.

Delaware.

JOSEPH COWDEN, A. M. Rector of St. Anne's.
STEPHEN SYKES, A. M. Rector of the United Churches of St. Peter's and St. Matthew, in Suffex county.
JAMES SYKES.

Maryland.

WILLIAM SMITH, D. D. Provost of the College and Academy of Philadelphia; and Clerical Deputy for Maryland, as late Rector of Chester parish, in Kent county.
THOMAS JOHN CLAGGET, Rector of St. Paul's, Prince George county.
COLIN FERGUSON, D. D. Rector of St. Paul's, Kent county.
JOHN BISSET, A. M. Rector of Shrewsbury Parish, Kent county.
WILLIAM FRISBY.
RICHARD B. CARMICHAEL.

Virginia.

ROBERT ANDREWS.

South-Carolina.

ROBERT SMITH, D. D. Rector of St. Philip's Church,
Charleston.

W. W. BURROWS.

WILLIAM BRISBANE.

THE PRESIDENT'S ANSWER.

*To the BISHOPS, CLERGY and LAITY of the Protestant Episcopal Church
in the States of New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland,
Virginia and South-Carolina, in General Convention assembled.*

GENTLEMEN,

I SINCERELY thank you for your affectionate congratulations on my election to the chief Magistracy of the United States.

After having received from my fellow-citizens in general the most liberal treatment—after having found them disposed to contemplate, in the most flattering point of view, the performance of my military services, and the manner of my retirement at the close of the war—I feel that I have a right to console myself, in my present arduous undertaking, with a hope, that they will still be inclined to put the most favorable construction on the motives which may influence me in my future public transactions.

The satisfaction arising from the indulgent opinion entertained by the American people, of my conduct, will, I trust, be some security for preventing me from doing any thing which might justly incur the forfeiture of that opinion. And the consideration, that human happiness and moral duty are inseparably connected, will always continue to prompt me to promote the progress of the former, by inculcating the practice of the latter.

On this occasion it would ill become me to conceal the joy I have felt in perceiving the fraternal affection, which appears to encrease every day among the friends of genuine religion. It affords edifying prospects indeed, to see christians of different denominations dwell together in more charity, and conduct themselves, in respect to each other, with a more christian like spirit, than ever they have done in any former age, or in any other nation.

I receive, with the greatest satisfaction, your congratulations on the establishment of the New Constitution of Government; because I believe its mild, yet efficient, operations will tend to remove every remaining apprehension of those, with whose opinions it may not entirely coincide, as well as to confirm the hopes of its numerous friends; and because the moderation, patriotism and wisdom of the present Federal Legislature seem to promise the restoration of order and our ancient virtues,—the extension of genuine religion—and the consequent advancement of our respectability abroad, and of our substantial happiness at home.

I re-

I request, Most Reverend and respectable Gentlemen, that you will accept my cordial thanks for your devout supplications to the Supreme Ruler of the Universe in behalf of me. May you, and the people whom you represent, be the happy subjects of the Divine Benedictions, both here and hereafter!

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

August 19, 1789.

A P P E N D I X. No. II.

AN ADDRESS TO THE MOST REVEREND THE ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY AND YORK.

Most Venerable and Illustrious Fathers and Prelates;

WE, the Bishops, Clergy and Laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the states of New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia and South-Carolina, impressed with every sentiment of love and veneration, beg leave to embrace this earliest occasion, in General Convention, to offer our warmest, most sincere and grateful acknowledgments to you, and (by your means) to all the venerable Bishops of the church over which you preside, for the manifold instances of your former condescension to us, and solicitude for our spiritual welfare. But we are more especially called to express our thankfulness, for that particular act of your fatherly goodness, whereby we derive, under you, a pure Episcopacy and succession of the ancient order of Bishops, and are now assembled, through the blessing of God, as a Church duly constituted and organized, with the happy prospect before us of a future full and undisturbed exercise of our holy religion, and its extension to the utmost bounds of this continent, under an ecclesiastical constitution, and a form of worship, which we believe to be truly apostolical.

The growing prospect of this happy diffusion of christianity, and the assurance we can give you that our churches are spreading and flourishing throughout these United States, we know will yield you more solid joy, and be considered as a more ample reward of your goodness to us, than all the praises and expressions of gratitude which the tongues of men can bestow.

It gives us pleasure to assure you, that, during the present sitting of our Convention, the utmost harmony has prevailed through all our deliberations; that we continue, as heretofore, most sincerely attached to the faith and doctrine of the Church of England; and that not a wish appears to prevail, either among our Clergy or Laity, of ever departing from that church in any essential article.

The business of most material consequence which hath come before us, at our present meeting, hath been, an application from our sister churches in the eastern states, expressing their earnest desire of a general union of the whole Episcopal Church in the United States, both in doctrine and discipline; and, as a primary means of such union, praying the assistance of our Bishops in the consecration of a Bishop elect for the

the states of Massachusetts and New-Hampshire. We therefore judge it necessary to accompany this address with the papers, which have come before us on that very interesting subject, and of the proceedings we have had thereupon, by which you will be enabled to judge concerning the particular delicacy of our situation, and, probably, to relieve us from any difficulties which may be found therein.

The application from the church in the states of Massachusetts and New-Hampshire is in the following words, *viz.*

THE good Providence of Almighty God, the fountain of all goodness, having lately blessed the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, by supplying it with a complete and entire ministry, and affording to many of her communion the benefit of the labours, advice and government of the successors of the Apostles;

We, Presbyters of said church in the states of Massachusetts and New-Hampshire, deeply impressed with the most lively gratitude to the Supreme Governor of the Universe for his goodness in this respect, and with the most ardent love to his church, and concern for the interest of her sons, that they may enjoy all the means that Christ, the great Shepherd and Bishop of souls, has instituted, for leading his followers into the ways of truth and holiness, and preserving his church in the unity of the spirit and the bond of peace; to the end that the people committed to our respective charges may enjoy the benefit and advantage of those offices, the administration of which belongs to the highest order of the ministry, and to encourage and promote, as far as in us lies, a union of the whole Episcopal Church in these states, and to perfect and compact this mystical body of Christ, do hereby nominate, elect and appoint the Reverend Edward Bass, a Presbyter of said church, and Rector of St. Paul's, in Newbury-Port, to be our Bishop; and we do promise and engage to receive him as such, when canonically consecrated, and invested with the apostolic office and powers, by the Right Reverend the Bishops hereafter named, and to render him all that canonical obedience and submission, which, by the laws of Christ and the constitution of our church, is due to so important an office.

And we now address the Right Reverend the Bishops in the states of Connecticut, New-York and Pennsylvania, praying their united assistance in consecrating our said brother, and canonically investing him with the apostolic office and powers. This request we are induced to make, from a long acquaintance with him, and from a perfect knowledge of his being possessed of that love to God and benevolence to men, that piety, learning and good morals, that prudence and discretion, requisite to so exalted a station, as well as that personal respect and attachment to the communion at large in these states, which will make him a valuable acquisition to the order, and, we trust, a rich blessing to the church.

DONE at a meeting of the Presbyters, whose names are underwritten, held at Salem, in the county of Essex, and commonwealth of Massachusetts, the fourth day of June, Anno Salutis 1789.

SAMUEL PARKER, Rector of Trinity Church, Boston.

T. FITCH OLIVER, Rector of St. Michael's Church, Marblehead.

JOHN

JOHN COUSENS OGDEN, *Rector of Queen's Chapel,
Portsmouth, New-Hampshire.*

WILLIAM MONTAGUE, *Minister of Christ's Church,
Boston.*

TILLOTSON BRUNSON, *Assistant Minister of Christ's
Church, Boston.*

A true copy.
(Attest) Samuel Parker.

At the meeting aforesaid,

Voted. That the Rev. Samuel Parker be authorized and empowered to transmit copies of the foregoing act, to be by him attested, to the Right Reverend the Bishops in Connecticut, New-York and Pennsylvania; and that he be appointed our agent, to appear at any Convocation to be holden at Pennsylvania or New-York, and to treat upon any measures that may tend to promote an union of the Episcopal Church throughout the United States of America, or that may prove advantageous to the interest of the said church.

EDWARD BASS, *Chairman.*

A true copy.
(Attest) Samuel Parker.

This was accompanied with a letter from the Rev. Samuel Parker, the worthy Rectoꝛ of Trinity Church, Boston, to the Right Rev. Bishop White, dated June 21st, 1789, of which the following is an extract:—
“ The clergy here have appointed me their agent, to appear at any Convocation to be held at New-York or Pennsylvania; but I fear the situation of my family and parish will not admit of my being absent so long, as a journey to Philadelphia would take. When I gave you encouragement that I should attend, I was in expectation of having my parish supplied by some gentlemen from Nova-Scotia; but I am now informed they will not be here till some time in August. Having, therefore, no prospect of attending in person at your General Convention next month, I am requested to transmit you an attested copy of an act of the Clergy of this and the state of New-Hampshire, electing the Rev. Edward Bass our Bishop, and requesting the united assistance of the Right Reverend Bishops of Pennsylvania, New-York and Connecticut, to invest him with apostolic powers. This act I have now the honor of enclosing, and hope it will reach you before the meeting of your General Convention in July.

“ The clergy of this state are very desirous of seeing an Union of the whole Episcopal Church in the United States take place; and it will remain with our brethren at the southward to say, whether this shall be the case or not; whether we shall be an united or divided church. Some little difference in government may exist in different states, without affecting the essential points of union and communion.”

In the like spirit, the Right Rev. Dr. Seabury, Bishop of the church in Connecticut, in his letter to the Rev. Dr. Smith, dated July 23d, writes on the subject of Union, &c. as followeth.—“ The wish of my heart, and the wish of the clergy and of the church people of this state, would certainly have carried me and some of the clergy to your *General Convention*, had

had we conceived we could have attended with propriety. The necessity of an *Union* of all the churches, and the disadvantages of our present *Disunion*, we feel and lament equally with you; and I agree with you, that there may be a strong and efficacious union between churches, where the usages are different. I see not why it may not be so in the present case, as soon as you have removed those obstructions, which, while they remain, must prevent all possibility of uniting. The church of Connecticut consists, at present, of nineteen clergymen in full orders, and more than 20,000 people, they suppose, as respectable as the church in any state in the Union."

After the most serious deliberation upon this important business, and cordially joining with our Brethren of the Eastern or New-England Churches in the desire of union, the following *Resolves* were unanimously adopted in Convention, *viz.*

Resolved,—

" 1st. That a compleat order of Bishops, derived as well under the *English* as the *Scots* line of succession, doth now subsist within the United States of America, in the persons of the Right Rev. *William White*, D. D. Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the state of Pennsylvania, the Right Rev. *Samuel Provoost*, D. D. Bishop of the said church in the state of New-York, and the Right Rev. *Samuel Seabury*, D. D. Bishop of the said church in the state of Connecticut.

2d. That the said three Bishops are fully competent to every proper act and duty of the episcopal office and character in these United States; as well in respect to the *Consecration* of other *Bishops*, and the ordering of Priests and Deacons, as for the government of the church, according to such canons, rules and institutions, as now are, or hereafter may be, duly made and ordained by the church in that case.

3d. That in christian charity, as well as of duty, necessity and expediency, the churches represented in this *Convention* ought to contribute, in every manner in their power, towards supplying the wants, and granting every just and reasonable request of their sister churches in these states; and therefore, *Resolved,—*

4th. That the Right Rev. Dr. *White* and the Right Rev. Dr. *Provoost* be, and they hereby are, requested to join with the Right Rev. Dr. *Seabury*, in complying with the prayer of the Clergy of the states of Massachusetts and New-Hampshire, for the consecration of the Rev. *Edward Bass*, Bishop elect of the churches in the said states; but that before the said Bishops comply with the request aforesaid, it be proposed to the churches in the New-England states to meet the churches of these states, with the said three Bishops, in an adjourned *Convention*, to settle certain articles of union and discipline among all the churches, previous to such consecration.

5th. That if any difficulty or delicacy, in respect to the Archbishops and Bishops of England, shall remain with the Right Rev. Drs. *White* and *Provoost*, or either of them, concerning their compliance with the above request, this Convention will address the Archbishops and Bishops, and hope thereby to remove the difficulty."

We have now, most venerable Fathers, submitted to your consideration whatever relates to this important business of *Union* among all our churches in

in these United States. It was our original and sincere intention to have obtained *three Bishops*, at least, immediately consecrated by the Bishops of England, for the seven states comprehended within our present union. But that intention being frustrated through unforeseen circumstances, we could not wish to deny any present assistance, which may be found in our power to give to any of our sister churches, in that way which may be most acceptable to them, and in itself legal and expedient.

We ardently *pray* for the continuance of your favour and blessing, and that, as soon as the urgency of other weighty concerns of the church will allow, we may be favoured with that fatherly advice and direction, which to you may appear most for the glory of God and the prosperity of our churches, upon the consideration of the foregoing documents and papers.

Done in Convention, this 8th day of August, 1789, and directed to be signed by all the members, as the act of their body, and by the President officially.

WILLIAM WHITE, D. D. Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and President of the Convention.

ABRAHAM BEACH, D. D. Assistant Minister of Trinity Church, in the City of New-York.

BENJAMIN MOORE, D. D. Assistant Minister of Trinity Church, in the City of New-York.

MOSES ROGERS, Lay Deputy from New-York.

New-Jersey.

WILLIAM FRAZER, A. M. Rector of St. Michael's Church, in Trenton, and St. Andrew's, in Amwell.

UZZAL OGDEN, Rector of Trinity Church, Newark.

HENRY WADDELL, Rector of the Churches of Shrewsbury and Middleton.

GEORGE H. SPIEREN, Rector of St. Peter's, Perth-Amboy.

JOHN COX,	} Lay Deputies.
SAMUEL OGDEN,	
ROBERT S. JONES,	

Pennsylvania.

SAMUEL MACAW, D. D. Rector of St. Paul's, Philadelphia, Vice-Provost of the University.

ROBERT BLACKWELL, D. D. Senior Assistant Minister of Christ-Church and St. Peter's, Philadelphia.

JOSEPH PILMORE, Rector of the United Churches of Trinity, St. Thomas's and All Saints.

JOSEPH G. J. BEND, Assistant Minister of Christ-Church and St. Peter's, in Philadelphia.

GERARDUS CLARKSON,	} Lay Deputies.
TENCH COX,	
FRANCIS HOPKINSON,	

Delaware.

JOSEPH COWDEN, Clerical Deputy.

STEPHEN SYKES, Clerical Deputy.

JAMES SYKES, Lay Deputy.

Maryland.

Maryland.

WILLIAM SMITH, D. D. Provost of the College and Academy of Philadelphia, and Clerical Deputy, as late Rector of Chester Parish, Kent County, Maryland. And for
 THOMAS JOHN CLAGGETT, D. D. Rector of St. Paul's, Prince George's County.

COLIN FERGUSON, D. D. Rector of St. Paul's, Kent County.

JOHN BISSETT, A. M. Rector of Shrewsbury Parish.

RICHARD B. CARMICHAEL, } Lay Deputies.
 WILLIAM FRISBY, }

Virginia.

ROBERT ANDREWS, Professor of Mathematics in the College of William and Mary.

South-Carolina.

ROBERT SMITH, D. D. Rector of St. Philip's Church, and Principal of Charleston College.

WILLIAM BRISBANE, } Lay Deputies.
 WILLIAM BURROWS, }

A P P E N D I X. No. III.

PAPERS relating to the SCOTS EPISCOPACY, as connected with the ENGLISH, and the CONSECRATION of Bishop SEABURY.

EXTRACT from the Register of Archbishop JUXON, in the Library of His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, at Lambeth Palace.—Fol. 237.

IT appears that JAMES SHARP was consecrated Archbishop of St. Andrew's—ANDREW FAIRFOULL, Archbishop of Glasgow—ROBERT LEIGHTON, Bishop of Doublenen (*Dunblane*)—and JAMES HAMILTON, Bishop of Galloway—on the 15th day of December 1661, in St. Peter's Church, Westminster, by GILBERT, Bishop of London, Commissary to the Archbishop of Canterbury;—and that the Right Rev. GEORGE, Bishop of Worcester, JOHN, Bishop of Carlisle, and HUGH, Bishop of Landaff, were present, and assisting.

Extracted this 3d Day of June, 1789, by me,

WILLIAM DICKES, Secretary.

London, June 3d, 1789.

THAT the above is a true copy of an Extract procured by order of Archbishop MOORE, to be sent to Bishop SEABURY, in Connecticut, is attested by us, Bishops of the Scottish Church, now in this place, on business of importance to the said Church.

JOHN SKINNER, Bishop.

WILLIAM ABERNETHY DRUMMOND, Bishop.

JOHN STRÆCHAN, Bishop.

A LIST

A LIST of the Consecration and Succession of SCOTS BISHOPS, since the Revolution 1688, under WILLIAM the Third, as far as the Consecration of Bishop SEABURY is concerned.

1693. Feb. 23. **D**R. George Hickes, was consecrated Suffragan of Thetford, in the Bishop of Peterborough's chapel, in the parish of Enfield, by Dr. William Loyd, Bishop of Norwich, Dr. Francis Turner, Bishop of Ely, and Dr. Thomas White, Bishop of Peterborough. *N. B.* Dr. Loyd, Dr. Turner and Dr. White, were three of the English Bishops who were deprived at the revolution, by the civil power, for not swearing allegiance to William the Third. They were also three of the seven Bishops who had been sent to the Tower, by James the Second, for refusing to order an illegal proclamation to be read in their diocesses.

1705. Jan. 25. Mr. John Sage, formerly one of the Ministers of Glasgow, and Mr. John Fullarton, formerly Minister of Paisley, were consecrated at Edinburgh, by John Paterfon, Archbishop of Glasgow, Alexander Rose, Bishop of Edinburgh, and Robert Douglas, Bishop of Dunblane. *N. B.* Archbishop Paterfon, Bishop Rose and Bishop Douglas, were deprived at the revolution, by the civil power, because they refused to swear allegiance to William the Third.

1709. April 28. Mr. John Falconar, Minister at Cairnbee, and Mr. Henry Chrystie, Minister at Kinross, were consecrated at Dundee, by Bishop Rose of Edinburgh, Bishop Douglas of Dunblane, and Bishop Sage.

1711. Aug. 25. The Honorable Archibald Campbel was consecrated at Dundee, by Bishop Rose of Edinburgh, Bishop Douglas of Dunblane, and Bishop Falconar.

1712. Feb. 24. Mr. James Gadderar, formerly Minister at Kilmaurs, was consecrated at London, by Bishop Hickes, Bishop Falconar, and Bishop Campbel.

1718. Oct. 22. Mr. Arthur Millar, formerly Minister at Inveresk, and Mr. William Irvine, formerly Minister at Kirkmichael, in Carrick, were consecrated at Edinburgh, by Bishop Rose of Edinburgh, Bishop Fullarton and Bishop Falconar.

After the Bishop of Edinburgh's death.

1722. Oct. 7. Mr. Andrew Cant, formerly one of the Ministers of Edinburgh, and Mr. David Freebairn, formerly Minister of Dunning, were consecrated at Edinburgh, by Bishop Fullarton, Bishop Millar and Bishop Irvine.

1727. June 4. Dr. Thomas Rattray of Craighall, was consecrated at Edinburgh, by Bishop Gadderar, Bishop Millar, and Bishop Cant.

1727. June 18. Mr. William Dunbar, Minister at Cruden, and Mr. Robert Keith, Presbyter in Edinburgh, were consecrated at Edinburgh, by Bishop Gadderar, Bishop Millar and Bishop Rattray. *N. B.* They who were deprived of their parishes at the revolution are, in this list, called Ministers; but they who had not been Parish-Ministers under the civil establishment are called Presbyters.

1735. June 24. Mr. Robert White, Presbyter at Cupar, was consecrated at Carfebank, near Forfar, by Bishop Rattray, Bishop Dunbar and Bishop Keith.

1741. Sept. 10. Mr. William Falconar, Presbyter at Forrefts, was consecrated at Alloa, in Clackmannanshire, by Bishop Rattray, Bishop Keith and Bishop White.

1742. Oct. 4. Mr. James Rait, Presbyter at Dundee, was consecrated at Edinburgh, by Bishop Rattray, Bishop Keith and Bishop White.

1743. Aug. 19. Mr. John Alexander, Presbyter at Alloa, in Clackmannanshire, was consecrated at Edinburgh, by Bishop Keith, Bishop White, Bishop Falconar and Bishop Rait.

1747. July 17. Mr. Andrew Gerard, Presbyter in Aberdeen, was consecrated at Cupar, in Fife, by Bishop White, Bishop Falconar, Bishop Rait and Bishop Alexander.

1759. Nov. 1. Mr. Henry Edgar was consecrated at Cupar, in Fife, by Bishop White, Bishop Falconar, Bishop Rait and Bishop Alexander, as Co-adjutor to Bishop White, then *Primus*. *N. B.* Anciently no Bishop in Scotland had the stile of Archbishop, but one of them had a precedence, under the title of, *Primus Scotiæ Episcopus*: And after the revolution they returned to their old stile, which they still retain; one of them being entitled *Primus*, to whom precedence is allowed, and deference paid in the Synod of Bishops.

1762. June 24. Mr. Robert Forbes was consecrated at Forfar, by Bishop Falconar, *Primus*, Bishop Alexander and Bishop Gerard.


1768. Sept. 21. Mr. Robert Kilgour, Presbyter at Peterhead, was consecrated Bishop of Aberdeen, at Cupar, in Fife, by Bishop Falconar, *Primus*, Bishop Rait and Bishop Alexander.

1774. Aug. 24. Mr. Charles Rose, Presbyter at Down, was consecrated Bishop of Dunblane, at Forfar, by Bishop Falconar, *Primus*, Bishop Rait and Bishop Forbes.

1776. June 27. Mr. Arthur Petrie, Presbyter at Meikelfolla, was consecrated Bishop Co-adjutor, at Dundee, by Bishop Falconar, *Primus*, Bishop Rait, Bishop Kilgour and Bishop Rose: And appointed Bishop of Ross and Caithness, July 8th, 1777. *N. B.* After the revolution, the Bishops in Scotland had no particular Diocess, but managed their ecclesiastical affairs in one body, as a college: But, finding inconveniencies in this mode, they took particular diocesses, which, though not exactly according to the limits of the diocesses under the former legal establishment, still retain their old names.

1778. Aug. 13. Mr. George Innes, Presbyter in Aberdeen, was consecrated Bishop of Brechen, at Alloa, by Bishop Falconar, *Primus*, Bishop Rose and Bishop Petrie.

1782. Sept. 25. Mr. John Skinner, Presbyter in Aberdeen, was consecrated Bishop Co-adjutor, at Luthermuir, in the diocess of Brechen, by Bishop Kilgour, *Primus*, Bishop Rose and Bishop Petrie.

 The foregoing list is taken from an attested copy, in the possession of Bishop Seabury.

1784. Nov. 14. Dr. Samuel Seabury, Presbyter, from the State of Connecticut, in America, was consecrated Bishop, at Aberdeen, by Bishop Kilgour, *Primus*, Bishop Petrie and Bishop Skinner,—as, by the deed of consecration, as follows, viz.

IN DEI NOMINE, AMEN.

Omnibus ubique Catholicis per Presentes pateat,

NOS, ROBERTUM KILCOUR, miseratione divina, Episcopum Aberdonien—ARTHURUM PETRIE, Episcopum Rossen et Moravien—et JOANNEM SKINNER, Episcopum Coadjutorem; Myſteria Sacra Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti in Oratorio ſupradicti JOANNIS SKINNER apud Aberdoniam celebrantes, Divini Numinis Præſidio fretos (preſentibus tam e Clero, quam e Populo teſtibus idoneis) SAMUELEM SEABURY, Doctorem Divinitatis, ſacro Præſbyteratus ordine jam decoratum, ac nobis præ Vitæ integritate, Morum probitate et Orthodoxia, commendatum, et ad docendum et regendum aptum et idoneum, ad ſacrum et ſublimem Episcopatus Ordinem promoviffe, et rite ac canonice, ſecundum Morem et Ritum Eccleſiæ Scoticanæ, confecraſſe, Die Novembris decimo quarto, Anno Æræ Chriſtianæ Miſleſimo Septingenteſimo Octageſimo Quarto.—

In cujus Rei Teſtimonium, Inſtrumento huic (Chirographis noſtris prius munito) Sigilla noſtra apponi mandavimus.

ROBERTUS KILCOUR, Episcopus, et Primus. (L. s.)

ARTHURUS PETRIE, Episcopus. (L. s.)

JOANNES SKINNER, Episcopus. (L. s.)

F I N I S.

